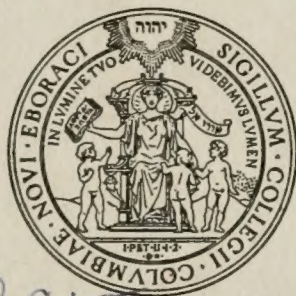


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MEMORIAL
BOOK OF BERNARD



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HISTORICAL
MEMOIRS
OF THE
HOUSE OF RUSSELL;

FROM
THE TIME OF THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

BY J. H. WIFFEN, M.R.S.L.

CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF NORMANDY,
&c. &c. &c.

“It is a reverend thing to see an ancient castle or building not in decay, or to see a fair timber-tree sound and perfect; how much more to behold an ancient noble family, which hath stood against the waves and weathers of time!”—*Bacon*.

IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. II.



LONDON:
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PATERNOSTER ROW; AND
CARPENTER AND SON, OLD BOND STREET.

1833.



MEMOIRS

HOUSE OF COMMONS

FOR THE YEAR 1840

AS A MEMOIR

OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

IN THE YEAR 1840

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LONDON:

J. MOYES, CASTLE STREET, LEICESTER SQUARE.

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HISTORICAL MEMOIRS,

ETC. ETC.

CHAPTER XIII.

FROM THE BATTLE OF ZUTPHEN TO THE TREATY WITH THE
EARL OF TYRONE.

A.D. 1586-1595.

Edward, Earl of Bedford . . . Sir William Russell distinguishes himself at Zutphen, 1586 . . . Governor of Flushing, 1587 . . . Enterprize of the Earl of Cumberland, 1588 . . . Grief of his countess, 1590 . . . Birth of Lady Anne Clifford . . . Prophecy of Barden Tower . . . Entertainment of Queen Elizabeth at Bisham Abbey, 1592 . . . Sir William Russell, lord deputy of Ireland . . . State of that country, 1593 . . . Rise of the Earl of Tyrone . . . Pheagh M'Hugh . . . Sir William retakes Inniskillen, August, 1594 . . . Makes a winter excursion into Glendaloch . . . Garrisons Ballinacore . . . Sends Bagnal to victual Monaghan . . . Bagnal's danger . . . Is extricated by the deputy . . . who garrisons Armagh, July . . . Intercepted correspondence with Spain, September . . . Norris's negotiations discountenanced by Russell . . . Insolent behaviour of the Irish chiefs . . . Account of the state of Ireland, Nov. . . . Treaty concluded with Tyrone.

EDWARD, the son of Sir Francis Russell, was little more than eleven years old when he succeeded to the earldom ; his aunt, the Lady Warwick, obtained the wardship of him. The interval of his minority may be appropriately occupied with details relative to the other members of the family.



A.D. 1586. The reputation of Sir William Russell had increased with every opportunity for distinction. When unengaged in the military service of his country, he mingled with ardour in those mimic presentments of it which were occasionally furnished by the tilt and tourney. Thus, after assisting, at the head of one hundred and fifty horse raised by the English clergy, in the suppression of a rebellion in Ireland, we find him the foremost at court to accept the challenge to a royal combat on foot given by the Prince d'Aufine and Monsieur, brother to the King of France, on which occasion he vindicated, with Lord Thomas Howard, the honour of his nation in these gestic of hardihood and skill.

On the celebrated field of Zutphen, in 1586, being one of that splendid retinue of captains who the previous year had been sent to Holland with the Earl of Leicester, he displayed a valour that carried consternation, rout, and havoc, wherever his horse bore him. Naturally tall, and sinewy, and athletic, his figure, magnified by the mists that prevailed upon that noted morning, seemed like a gigantic image, and, joined to the romantic achievements of his arm, impressed the superstitious fancies of the Spaniards with the belief that they were contending with a more than earthly apparition. "So terribly he charged," says Stowe, who derived the scene from an eye-witness, "that, after he had broke his lance, he with his curtle-axe so played his part, that the enemy reported him a devil, and no man; for, where he saw six or seven of the foe together, thither would he rush, and so apply his weapon as speedily to separate their friendship."¹ A like display of prowess by Lord Willoughby, Sir Philip Sidney, and others of the English

¹ Annals, p. 737.

soldiery, completed the fortune of the day ; and the Spanish A.D. 1587.
general, disappointed in his hope of throwing succours into
the fortress, fled from the disastrous conflict.

The exultation of Sir William Russell, as he returned from the pursuit, was severely checked by a rumour of the fatal accident that had befallen Sidney. Hastening to the spot where the young hero lay, Sir William kissed his hand, and exclaimed, with bitter tears, “ O, noble Sir Philip ! never was there man obtained hurt more honourably than ye have done, nor any served like unto you ! ”¹ To him, as his dear friend and comrade, the dying youth bequeathed his best gilt armour ; and after executing, with an affecting serenity, all the offices which either friendship could dictate, or religion could demand, expired, with a higher renown than had fallen to the lot of any warrior since the days of the *Chevalier sans peur et sans reproche*. The nomination of Sir William Russell to the governorship of Flushing, vacant by his lamented death, reflects credit on Elizabeth : he justified her confidence by immediately intercepting, with a party of six hundred horse, a convoy of provisions which the enemy again attempted to throw into the citadel of Zutphen.

His individual intrepidity could not, however, counter-balance the disadvantages arising from Leicester’s deficiency of military talent. The earl was obliged to raise the siege of Zutphen ; nor did the campaign of 1587 retrieve his reputation. Deventer and other fortresses betrayed by the officers of his appointment, Sluys capitulating unrelieved, and the Hollanders alienated by his overbearing temper, were the glaring tokens of his incapacity. Elizabeth saw them, and recalled her favourite ; but the States, for a long time after

¹ Stowe, p. 737.

A.D. 1587. his departure, continued to suffer the mischiefs of his mal-administration; and the measures of Prince Maurice and Lord Willoughby, his successors in command, were alternately crossed by his intrigues, and embarrassed by his factions.

Whilst Sir William stayed at Flushing, he bore himself nobly, says his chaplain, “by his wise and worthy government, and his love and liberality to soldiers of best desert. And the gracious letters of Queen Elizabeth, written to him with her own hand, which I have seen, wherein she doth acknowledge his good services, and encourage him with her high commendation, are plentiful witnesses of his worth in her high discerning judgment. But the greatest argument of his upright life in his employments was, that he never increased his wealth, or bettered his estate by them. For he spent sometimes a hundred pounds a-week in this government, when his total entertainment from the queen and the States was but about threescore, and that was laid out in housekeeping, and in magnificent entertaining of nobles, gentlemen, and captains; so that he sold of his own land to bear him out in the service of his prince, but never purchased foot again that ever I could hear of.”¹ When to this consideration is added the parsimony with which the most necessary supplies were furnished to him, it can excite no surprise that he at length besought his friends in England either to see the town provided as it ought, or to “help him away from so beggarly a government, wherein he should but undo himself without hope of service or reward.”²

The queen at length yielded to his solicitations. He returned with the regrets of the Hollanders,³ “non,” says

¹ Walker's Funeral Sermon, p. 258.

² Letter to Walsingham; Harl. MSS. 286. *a* 95.

³ Blavoet to Walsingham; Harl. MSS.

the authority already cited, “ non verò ditior, sed gloriosior; A.D. 1587. and as Scipio brought no other riches but the glorious surname of Africanus from his conquest of Africa, this valiant lord brought no other booty from his enemies’ countries but an honourable name for his excellent services.”¹

It was soon discovered that the transports building and men raising by the Prince of Parma, were for no design upon the Flemish coast, but to be wafted over to England whenever the Armada fitting out in Spain should appear in motion on the waters. In the military arrangements that were entered into for the isle’s defence, Sir William Russell was sent to command the forces of the west; but the intrepidity of the naval captains sufficed for the alarming crisis—the guardianship of Providence was signally manifested—and that vast and potent navy which has since become a by-word for the ruin of presumptuous pride, was delivered, an abandoned wreck, to the stormy insurrection of the winds and waves of heaven.

Whilst the Spanish court was thus exhausting its energies and rich resources on a state rendered impassive by its valour and long love of civil and religious freedom, numerous adventurers, following in the steps of Drake, were daily fitting out fresh vessels to aid the general attack upon its mighty empire by the most daring incursions on its establishments and traffic; and the gold of America—the frequent prize of conflict—still more stimulated their hostility. Foremost amongst these was the young Earl of Cumberland. He had all that susceptibility of imagination and ardent enthusiasm which leads to brilliant and romantic undertakings; a disposition prodigal in the means it used for the

¹ Fun. Sermon, as before.

A.D. 1589. accomplishment of any favourite fancy; and a love of admiration that carried him onward to distinction with a strong and rapid current, when its impulse was undissipated by versatile caprice. He had fitted out a little fleet so early as 1586, on a voyage of discovery and crusade against the Spaniards; had himself commanded one of the vessels in the late momentous struggle with equal intrepidity and skill; and he now engaged, with a second fleet of his own furnishing, in a series of sea-voyages that have justly placed his name amongst the first patrons of enterprise in the annals of maritime adventure. Sailing, in the June of 1589, for the West Indies, he took the rich town of Fayal, in the Azores, with all its stores and ordnance; and, after several desperate engagements and severe privations, returned in December, seamed with scars, but rich with booty, having sent home before him no fewer than eight-and-twenty ships, with spoil to the amount of more than twenty thousand pounds. When he had satisfied the curiosity of the queen, who exacted from him a circumstantial narrative of his adventures,¹ he went down to Skipton Castle on a visit to his lady, arriving there about the latter end of March.

“Time had passed but rudely” with his amiable countess almost from the period of their marriage; for the earl unhappily became fascinated with the charms of some other lady about court, which was followed by the usual results of irregular attachment,—first neglect, afterwards estrangement, and to the injured party deep inward discontent, if not open indignation and reproach. To a woman of the countess’s quick sense of moral feeling, the guilty conduct of a husband to whom she was undoubtedly attached, must

¹ See them in Hackluyt’s Collection of Voyages.

have infinitely enhanced the pain which she suffered from A.D. 1590. his infidelity; and her health became so much impaired, that at the end of six short years there was every prospect of the sickness ending in consumption. Her emaciated form and mental suffering appear at length to have touched the bosom of the careless earl, and to have led to a renewal of his first assiduities. His returning kindness had an effect almost electric: it arrested the ravage of disease, restored to her the animation and the hue of health, and rekindled those affections, which, however they may languish with ill-usage, rarely become extinguished towards the object that first called them forth in the fond and faithful breast of woman. In this interval of returning confidence and peace, which comprised about ten years of her existence, and but little more, the countess became the mother of two sons, Francis and Robert, who, during the few years that they lived, “expressed,” says the Pembroke MS., “as much goodness, wit, and spirit, as the tender years of childhood could disclose.” For both, to the inexpressible sorrow of their mother, and the disappointment of the earl, perished in their infancy, precisely at the same age of five years and eight months,—the elder but recently, whilst his father was landing on the northern coast of Ireland. Yet the grief, with which this event must have tinged their present interview, was in degree assuaged by the intermediate birth of a fair daughter,—the same who in after-years became noted as the dauntless claimant of her alienated rights, haughty and uncompromising to a court that sanctioned the injustice, but affable, generous, and hospitable in the halls of her progenitors, and mistress of all hearts in the districts gladdened by her bounty—Anne, Countess of Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery.

A.D. 1590.

This lady, in the Memorials which she has left behind her, records a singular incident that occurred, in prelude of her own birth, to her whom she uniformly terms “her blessed” and “her sainted mother,” which is the more remarkable as, at the time when it took place, no deed to bar his daughter’s succession of inheritance had been meditated by the earl her father. The anecdote is thus recounted:—

“Now the Countess of Cumberland was truly religious, devout, and conscientious, even from her very childhood; and did spend much time in reading the Scriptures, in heavenly meditations, and in prayers, fastings, and deeds of charity, especially for some fourteen or fifteen years before her death; and of such an elevated mind was she to all goodness, as any may truly say she had in many things a kind of a prophetic spirit in her; in particular she would often tell her only daughter, the Lady Anne Clifford, that the ancient lands of her father’s inheritance would at last come to be hers, what opposition soever was made to hinder it, although it would be very long first, which many years after came to pass. And she was the rather induced to believe it by reason of a strange kind of divining dream or vision that appeared to her in a fearful manner, in Barden Tower, in Craven, when she was great with child with her third child, which told her she should be delivered a little while after of a daughter, who should be the only child to her parents, and live to inherit the lands of her ancestors; which after proved to be true, though at that time both the countess’s sons were living; but the elder of them died a month after the vision, and the younger of them when her daughter was a year and four months old. Which strange vision we are the rather induced to set down, because undoubtedly, whilst she lived here in the world, her spirit had

more converse with heaven and heavenly contemplations than A.D. 1590. with terrene and earthly matters.”¹

The simple enjoyments and quiet of a country life were but little in unison with the Earl of Cumberland’s restless and romantic spirit. Being bent upon fresh sea adventures,

¹ Memorials of the Cliffords, &c.; Harl. MSS. Barden Tower is situated on the Wharfe, not far from Bolton Abbey, amidst fells, cascades, and woods of the like character with those which render the ruins of this priory so picturesque. The fate of the boy of Egremond, who perished at the Strid, gives an interest to the river, which this anecdote enhances. The writer has ventured to fill up the outline of the lady’s dream, and to commemorate, in a region already vocal with the verse of Rogers and Wordsworth,

THE PROPHECY OF BARDEN TOWER.

O, have ye e’er the noon beguiled
On lonely Wharfe’s romantic border?
Where ivied cliffs on cliffs are piled,
By woods o’erwaved in rich disorder,—
The vale, with many a solemn sigh,
Responding as the waters rolled,
Half drown’d the cushat’s plaintive cry,
Half heard the sheep-bell from the fold,—
Nor owned that there the chastening hours
Might glide most gently with the Good;
And oft, from worlds more blest than ours,
Bring faith’s prophetic mood!

As fair a form, as chaste a mind
Hath sought its sacred calm to borrow,
As e’er to duty bowed resigned,
Or drooped beneath the touch of sorrow;
Who, doomed to see her house despoiled,
To swell a kinsman’s haughty state,
By Power opposed, yet onward toiled,
With hope untired, and heart elate.
Yes! kings may frown, they cannot bend
The inborn strength that stands erect,
Girt for the watch, till heaven shall end
The’ ungenerous world’s neglect!

From Barden Tower the Lady gazed—
Earl Bedford’s own high-minded daughter,
O’er all that wild enchanted waste,
The umbered wood, the tinted water.

A.D. 1591. he, in April, took his family to London; and the countess was absent from the north for several years. He had no sooner set sail for the Mediterranean, in the May of 1591, than his only surviving son expired at Northhall, in Hertfordshire, the Lady Warwick's seat. His death, as it had a

Her heart was thronged with doubts and fears
 Whilst brooding on the babe she bore ;
And he who should have soothed her tears,
 Was dallying round each bright Azore ;
The cheek he praised, so fresh of old,
 Wore grief's white roses, sad to see ;
The Book of Grace, unclasped in gold,
 Lay resting on her knee.

She mused on deeds of distant days,
 The patriarch's rest, the bondslave's story,
When hopeless tears proved springs of praise,
 The gloomy wild a gate of glory.
Its peace the living text inbreathed,
 A hallowed feeling, pure and calm,
And Eve her influences bequeathed,
 Low, dying tones, and breath of balm.
There came a murmur from the fell,
 From bowery Wharfe a whisper rose,
And sealed her spirit with the spell
 Of undisturbed repose.

She saw in sleep a banquet spread,
 Rich wine in many a golden flagon ;
The feast was o'er her warrior dead,
 The hall his hall of proud Pendragon.
Twice twenty knights of high degree,
 All mail-clad chieftains, there had place ;
And, by his shield's emblazonry
 Well known, a Clifford on the dais.
The tapers, as the hall she paced,
 Cheered by her presence, blazed more bright,—
A harper hoar her left hand graced,
 A seneschal her right.

She took to greet them, from the board,
 A cup, and pledged them ere she parted ;
When, lo ! at Clifford's nod, each sword
 In anger from its scabbard started.

most unfavourable effect upon the earl's capricious temper, A.D. 1591. prejudiced alike the comfort of his lady and the fortunes of his daughter. Being hereby disappointed in his hopes of perpetuating the name of Clifford, he grew less scrupulous in the indulgence of his favourite pursuits. The building

But wondrous succour was at hand —
Her guardian herald forward pressed,
And shivered with his ruby wand
The weapons brandished at her breast;
And as before his eye of fire
Unsinewed stood the daunted throng,
Mysterious from the minstrel's wire
Broke forth the' unstudied song.

“ Rest, Vipont, rest ! peace, Vescy, peace !
Nor idly beard the Russell lion,
Blest by the gracious Pleiades,
And banded with the bright Orion !
Round Salem's towers ye've seen him prey,
O'er Ulster's heathy mountains bound,
And sternly, grimly hold at bay
The Gallic hunter's eager hound.
Him Love—the child—with ease may guide,
But let Power touch his bristling mane,
Ye've seen him dash his darts aside,
And snap his spears in twain !

“ Drink, lady, drink ! the cup's thine own,
Nor sorrow for thine infant burden ;
For though thy seed in tears be sown,
Yet rich shall be thy final guerdon.
The babe that in thy lap erewhile
Shall sleep to many a murmured song,
A girl—shall bear a kinsman's guile,
A woman—brave a warrior's wrong.
Yet hers shall still be flood and fell,
And hers shall yet be tower and town,
How long soe'er the Arm'd repel,
Howe'er the Sceptred frown !

“ To all the honours of her race
Restored beyond the reach of malice,
What beal-fires on the hills shall blaze,
What flutes resound in pastoral valleys !

A.D. 1591. and fitting out of vessels for nine successive voyages could not be accomplished without anticipating the revenues of his domains, which led to many large alienations of his property. Being also champion to the queen, he spent vast sums in maintaining his *beau-idéal* of that character in revels, tilts, and other festivities connected with the chivalrous but idle office. The prizes which he took in his naval expeditions, though often of immense value, did not in the end compensate for the sacrifices which he made. A great portion of the proceeds of his earlier captures the queen took care to claim; and before the termination of his last expedition in 1598, when he took and burnt the capital of Porto Rico, and by his incessant harass of the Spaniards in their other settlements, rendered no small service to his country, he suffered many accidents and losses on the ocean. The countess's friends were not, however, unmindful of her interests: they

Their state in her ancestral towers
 The household Virtues shall resume,
 And Hospitality the hours
 With many a festal light relume.
 Her memory shall the wise and good
 Embalm in some perennial verse,
 And thousand flowers and tears be strewed
 Late on her holy hearse!"

He ceased,— she started; for the Two
 Shone like transfigured saints before her;—
 Wondering she rose: fast fell the dew—
 The stars of heaven were gathered o'er her.
 But Wharfe, when many a year had rolled,
 And proud Pendragon witness bore,
 That all the vision had foretold,
 Was strangely sooth as gospel lore.
 Nor marvel, thou who hear'st the strain,
 That such prophetic sense were given,
 For spirits purged by fire from stain,
 Walk less in earth than heaven!

obtained, in lieu of an uncertain dowry, the earl's consent to A.D. 1592.
a settlement on her of his Westmoreland estates; and the deed of jointure was confirmed by act of Parliament in 1593.¹ But the grace of this concession was impaired by his injustice in devising to his brother Francis, and conveying over all his other castles, lands, and honours, from his daughter, which were only to return to her in default of a male heir to his brother; a disposal which afterwards became the source of long and most expensive law-suits, and which doubtless concurred with other injuries to rekindle between him and his high-spirited lady the sparkles of their former discord. At all events, the golden bond of confidence was afresh snapt between them, and was reunited only in his last moments.

Since the death of John, Lord Russell, his accomplished lady had assiduously devoted herself to the education of his children. Upon the 28th of August, 1592, she was honoured with a visit from the queen at her seat of Bisham Abbey, near Great Marlow, and adopted the usual mode of testifying her sense of the honour designed her, by a salutation of sweet speeches on the confines of her grounds, extremely curious as a specimen of the nectared flatteries that were then thought indispensable for the gratification of the virgin queen during her progresses, but breathing too little of Arcady to detain the reader.²

The queen was ushered into the abbey with a song written

¹ Out of which jointure she founded an almshouse at Beamsley, in Craven, with convenient maintenance for twelve widows and their governess, for which she the same year procured a deed of mortmain under the great seal of England.

² Yet the conclusion of the speech of Pan, who, as the queen approached him, entertained her by a colloquy with two attendant shepherdesses, is truly happy. "Here," he said, "I yield all the flocks of these fields to your

A.D. 1592. obviously, in Pope's sense of the term, by some "person of quality." Within, Lady Russell had invited all the wit, the talent, and distinction, which she could convene, for the entertainment of her royal mistress, who prolonged her stay at Bisham several days, and then proceeded to Sudeley, in Gloucestershire, the seat of Giles, lord Chandos, where other mythological compliments awaited her, as delectable as the last. It appears that the young Earl of Bedford was at this time pressing his suit with Catharine, one of the co-heiresses of Lord Chandos,¹ but that he met with some discouragement from this nobleman, as, upon his decease in 1594, we are informed by a contemporary that the youthful earl had now a greater likelihood of carrying his point.² He was doubtless aided in his object by the influence and credit of his aunt, the Countess of Warwick; but fresh difficulties intervening, the negotiation was finally broken off, and the lady afterwards became the bride of his cousin Francis, the son of Sir William Russell.

Sir William Russell had now been called to a sphere where his military talents were likely to find at least sufficient scope for action. On the recall of Sir William Fitzwilliam in May 1593, he was appointed lord deputy of Ireland; a measure which, it seems, exceedingly annoyed the court of Spain, its ministers anticipating a serious counteraction of the tumults cherished there, from one whom they designated

highness. Green be the grass where you tread—calm the water where you row—sweet the air you breathe—long the life that you live—happy the people that you love! During your abode no theft shall be in the woods, in the fields no noise, in the valley no spies,—myself will keep all safe. And here I break my pipe, which Apollo could never make me do, and follow that ethereal sound which follows you!"—See the whole entertainment in Nichols's *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. ii. *Lond.* 1788.

¹ Birch's *Elizabeth*, vol. i. p. 140.

² *Ib.* p. 160.

as “un muy buon soldado, y hombre de chappo.”¹ It was A.D. 1593. not, however, before the 25th of June, that he received his commission and instructions. Upon that day he attended the queen from Theobalds to the seat of Mr. Wroth, at Enfield; and, after dining with her there, took his leave, and, with Sir Edward York, proceeded on his journey. His lady and her son, in company with the Earl of Bedford, by whom they had been hospitably entertained at Woburn, joined him at Stony-Stratford. Thence the earl brought them on their way towards Daventry, where Sir Richard Knightley met and conducted them to his house at Norton. Sir Henry Goodyer attended him at Coventry, Sir Christopher Blount upon the way to Litchfield; at Chester Sir Richard Molyneux and other gentlemen sent in great store of venison for them and their retinue. They spent a day or two in hunting at Weston, the Lord Derby’s seat; and then, the wind proving unfavourable for their voyage, passed over to Sir Pierce Mostyn’s on the Welsh side, and reached Beaumaris by the wild and picturesque cliffs of Penmanmawr, being entertained at every stage by the gentry of the country. It was the last of July before they landed at the head of Howth, the Lord of Howth claiming them that evening as his guests. Sir William was met the next day on his entrance into Dublin by the council, the captains of the garrison, and the mayor, with five hundred horse, and conducted with acclamations to the Castle. He refused, however, to accept the sword until he should receive, under the hands of the council, a full account of the state and condition of the kingdom; which being done, he was upon the 11th of August sworn in with great solemnity.

¹ Birch’s Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 106.

A.D. 1593. The report presented upon that occasion cannot now be referred to. To obtain a clear conception of the then condition of Ireland, we must carry back our modern ideas many centuries.

The conquest of the country by the Anglo-Normans in the reign of Henry the First was far from being complete; it was only, in fact, by a continued course of vigorous and active warfare, that the English adventurers could either extend or maintain the footing which they then acquired. They at length succeeded in driving the more independent of the natives into the savage solitudes of woods and trackless mountains; but even there the indignant kerns were always on the watch to vex or to invade the possessor of the plains, whose dominion became consequently in course of time greatly restricted in its compass. Feuds also frequently prevailed amongst the victors, which tended farther to their weakness, as one or other party often called in to its assistance the native kerns as well as chieftains, who seldom failed to turn the enterprise to their own territorial advantage. In the north, Edward Bruce, with his Hebridian Scots, razed to the ground, during his irruption, every city which he sacked, and rooted out the English settlers with the most determined hatred. But the chief diminution of their strength and numbers arose during the war of the two Roses, when almost every English knight or noble who had large possessions here, repaired to the scene of conflict to succour his own party, or defend his English manors. The septs who had occupied the mountains, seeing now the inland country so dispeopled, descended to the plains, expelled the few isolated families that remained there, repossessed their ancient lands, and, as their power increased, brought under their seignory many of the English themselves, who had once held them in subjection. Nor of

the settlers were there wanting others, who from disaffection A.D. 1593. to the English rule, or by intermarriage with the native chieftains, were willing to exchange their Norman for an Irish surname, and identified themselves with subsequent rebellions of the natives; the tendency of which was to encroach still farther, like a springtide sea that strives to regain its ancient immemorial limit. Hence, at the time of which we write, the English pale, as we learn from Camden, comprised but little more than the four colonies of Louth, Meath, Dublin, and Kildare, whose farthest northern point reached merely to Dundalk, beyond which compass the English laws received but small obedience; and the English government, notwithstanding its out-garrisons, exercised rather an occasional than a permanent influence, as it was made an arbiter or party in the numerous feuds engendered by the law of tanistry, that singular custom of the land, whereby the succession to a chieftainry was transferred from the next heir when a child, and often altogether from the kin of the deceased, to that warrior of the sept, who, by his influence or valour, seemed best calculated to secure its interests.

Owing to the perpetual animosities which thus prevailed, the sword and bow were never out of the hands of the natives; when weary of a war, they sought for grace — when recruited by repose, they renewed the struggle. Their conduct was the same towards the deputies sent successively to govern them; when powerful, they rebelled — when prosecuted, they succumbed, to renew again, on the first favourable occasion, the same career of rebellion and submission. But the system or mode of government was itself fraught with many evils to the country. The frequent change of governors prevented the adoption of any steady policy, which fluctuated from

A.D. 1593. rigour to mildness, and from mildness to barbarity, as individual judgment or impatience dictated. Of later years, indeed, a few measures had been adopted that bespeak a more enlarged sagacity. Elizabeth endeavoured to repeople Munster by a grant of lands, at a trifling valuation, to the younger sons or brothers of her nobility and gentry, as a means, in connexion with a chain of garrisons, of extirpating turbulent insurgents; whilst, to weaken the intimate connexion subsisting between the Irish chieftains and their people, she followed up her father's policy by afresh proscribing the title of O'Neale,—a word of magic to the native, linked in his mind by national associations of independent sway and a recovered sceptre. Under Con, the father of the late insurgent Shane O'Neale, it was commuted for the style of Earl Tyrone, his base son Matthew being created at the same time Baron of Dungannon.

When Turlogh Leinigh died, who, after Shane's assassination, was elected head of that indomitable tribe, Hugh, the son of Matthew, baron of Dungannon, came upon the theatre of action. The enmity which his ancestry had borne to foreign jurisdiction may be gathered from the heavy curse denounced by Con O'Neale on his posterity, if they so much as attempted to learn English, to sow corn, build houses, or cultivate any of the arts that might allure an English invader. Such a denunciation might possibly have been observed during the war of the Roses; but it was now no longer possible for a toparch to maintain his ascendancy, except by courting the friendship of the English sovereign. Of this the son of Lord Dungannon appears to have been fully sensible, and to have anchored himself upon the favour of Elizabeth, as the sole means of obtaining the thanedom to which he aspired. From services rendered to her in the Earl of Desmond's rebellion,

he was rewarded with the title of Tyrone, and invested with the estates of the attainted Shane, upon condition only of providing for the sons of Shane and Tirlogh, and of admitting English garrisons into certain forts on these domains. But his heart in every fortune remained wholly Irish: he was no sooner possessed of this dominion, than he abandoned his imagination to the same bright but fatal visions of kingly independence, which had roused his haughty ancestry to arms. In the words of Spenser, “ the frozen snake, warmed by these compassions, soon began to hiss, and threaten danger to his benefactress.” With the Spaniards of the Armada, shipwrecked on the Irish coast, he had cultivated a close intercourse; and when accused by a base-born son of Shane O’Neale of forming by their means a secret alliance with the Spanish court, he retorted by the murder of his kinsman. Assuming, then, the hereditary name of his tanistry, so dear to all his countrymen, he engaged the other lords of Ulster to join him in a confederacy, that had for its real object his own aggrandisement, under the avowed pretext of maintaining inviolate the religion of their forefathers, and of protecting their inalienable rights. The Macguires, O’Donnells, and O’Rourkes, became the ready instruments of his ambition, promising upon no consideration to admit any more sheriffs or garrisons into their territories, to defend each other faithfully, and to repel the injuries of the tyrannising English under every form in which they were presented. To pursue the former metaphor, he exercised, together with the ingratitude, all the wily cunning of the resuscitated snake, and evermore sought to disarm the resentment of awakening suspicion by plausible extenuation, or devout submission. Hence the English government acquired but by slow degrees the knowledge of his matchless perfidy,

A.D. 1593.

A.D. 1593. and was for a long time the victim of his refined dissimulation.

Macguire, the chief of Fermanagh, impatient of the oppressions exercised by the sheriff appointed to that county, was the first to rise in arms. He endeavoured to excite a commotion in Connaught, attended by Macguaran, a factious ecclesiastic whom the pope had invested with the title of prelate of Armagh, and sent forth with the encouragement to trust in God, and the event should be answerable to their hopes. Sir Richard Bingham encountered his forces, slew the priest, and drove him back to his own territory, where O'Donnel, chieftain of Tirconnel, came to his assistance with a party of mercenary Scots, and were here opposed by Sir Henry Bagnal. Tyrone, affecting a devoted loyalty, joined with the marshal in an action with the insurgents, and smiled under his vizor, when a fortunate wound, received in his thigh during the pursuit, was admitted as the proof of his loyalty and valour. He then withdrew from camp, whilst Inniskillen, the chief fortress of Macguire, surrendered to the arms of Bingham. An English garrison was stationed there; but when the rest of the queen's forces were withdrawn, its walls were again invested by O'Donnel. Tyrone was called on by his confederates to join them: he was not at present prepared to take so bold a step; but, to satisfy in some degree their clamorous impatience, he sent his brother Cormac with some troops, in secret, to their aid, and the siege was pressed with indefatigable ardour.

Such was the state of things in Ulster; but in Wicklow, even within five-and-twenty miles of Dublin, the English pale was threatened by Pheagh M'Hugh, a celebrated freebooter rather than chieftain, who, strongly entrenched in his rocky fastness of Glendaloch, the ancient domain of the

O'Tuathals and Byrnes, wild with shaggy woods, and girdled in on all sides but the east by stupendous mountains, frequently spread havoc and alarm to the very gates of Dublin. With him were associated, in all deeds of rapine, Walter Riagh, and his brothers James and Gerald ; whilst the heads of other septs only awaited foreign succours to appear in arms, and were ready with the bow and blade whenever the signal might be given. To add to the difficulties with which the new deputy saw himself at once surrounded, a fresh body of Island Scots, landing at Carrickfergus, ravaged the lands of the Earl of Kildare ; the English troops detached against O'Donnell received a total defeat ; the garrison of Inniskillen, surrendering in consequence, were butchered without mercy ; one of the De Burghos, an associate of the insurgents, by the name of The Macwilliam was established chieftain of the district ; and all these events were stated to have occurred at the very moment when the deputy received the sword of state.

Sir William instantly directed his thoughts to reconquer Inniskillen, and a general hosting was accordingly proclaimed. But before the march commenced, to the amazement of all men, Tyrone appeared before him, as though the cupidity and injustice of Fitzwilliam had been his only grounds of disaffection : he expressed his reverence for the new governor, lamented the wrongs he had sustained from the insinuations of his enemies, and made the most passionate professions, on his knees, before the council, of his entire submission and devotion to the queen. No prince, he observed, could be more gracious to a subject than Elizabeth had been to him ; she had advanced him to a large estate, had dignified him with a high title ; he vowed that her displeasure was his greatest grief, and called down on his head the most

A.D. 1594. awful maledictions if ever he raised sword or partisan against so good a mistress. He concluded his address by a promise to send his son to the new university at Dublin, and to deliver other pledges for his loyalty and truth. On the other hand, his inveterate enemy, Sir Henry Bagnal, whose sister he had forcibly abducted, boldly declared that all the disorders of the north were owing to his secret intrigues: he enumerated the various suspicious circumstances of his conduct, and offered to prove his participation in the late conspiracies of O'Donnel and Macguire. Impressed more strongly by the possible truth of these asseverations than by the exaggerated protestations of Tyrone, sincere and cordial as they seemed, Sir William gave his voice in council for the earl's committal to safe custody. It would have been well for the exchequer and the soldiery of England if this measure had been taken; but the majority of the council, either through private affection to the earl, from fear, or a suspicion that the charge originated from personal ill-will, pleaded strongly against the adoption of so rigorous a step: their decision was binding on the general, and Tyrone was dismissed, much to the queen's dissatisfaction.¹ Leaving the

¹ She addressed in consequence an angry letter of censure to the council, and to the deputy himself the following politic directions:—

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE LORD DEPUTY.

We have written largely to you and our council concerning your proceedings with the Earl of Tyrone, although, according to our promise made you when we chose you, we are contented more freely to tell you what we judge now of your late doings. You cannot forget what we delivered you before your departure at Theobalds; and what caution we gave you, by no fair promises of his (of whom already such experience hath been made), to dismiss him without full and orderly answers to his accusations. Wherein, as it had been honourable for us to shew him favour, if he could have acquitted himself, so hath this slight manner of proceeding both eclipsed the greatness of our estate there, and served to glorify him, to the comfort of all

Earl of Ormond to defend the pale against M'Hugh, the A.D. 1594. deputy began his route on the 19th of August, in rapid march by Trim, Athlone, and Roscommon, passed the Curlew mountains, and the dangerous bogs between Lough Allen and the Ellis. The river, swoln with recent rains, was impassable, except by swimming; but Sir William crossed it in safety, with a vanguard of five hundred: he would not wait for the rear-guard, but pushed on for Inniskillen. The enemy, daunted by his rapid movement and military reputation, fled at his advance: he found none to contest his entry of the town; so, taking possession of the castle, he garrisoned it with as many of the troops as he

his followers, and the amazement of those who have opposed themselves against him. And therefore, though what now is past cannot be undone, yet must we plainly tell you, against another time, that this strange usage of him, in such a time, appeareth to all that duly look into the true policy of kingdoms very dangerous: for more trust, nor greater countenance in the eye of the world, would not have been given him if his innocency had been as clear as the sun. You must, therefore, consider the humour of the Irish, where all the vulgar almost are tied to the appetite of those great lords under whom they live; and when they once behold that the heads are winked at, they straight are fortified in the imagination that they are feared for their greatness, or that for saving of further charges they shall be dandled in most of their disobediences as long as they contain themselves from open rebellion. And therefore do we also especially recommend to your curious and exact observation, whether any that now give council may so be tied by nature or country's bonds, as they cannot be free from furthering of such courses as may be good for themselves. To which, if you should too much lean, there will be no more performed than hath been found in the idle and remiss courses of your predecessors, whose slow proceedings have been the root of all these dangerous branches; for perils not obviated in the beginning prove more difficult; and he that begins well, performs half the work, where once occasion slipped, is hardly apprehended.

All treasons are secretly contrived, and never undisguised. And, as in cases of treason, circumstances are often taken for necessary conclusions, so in those parts, if breath be given when matters are called in question, proof and evidences will quickly vary, or be suppressed. If, therefore, ever circumstances beside proof were to be regarded, what is more plain than that to

A.D. 1595. could spare, and returned to Dublin, by easy stages, on the 9th of September.

With the approach of winter the operations of the camp in Ireland had usually ceased; but Sir William thought it not amiss to take a lesson from the native marauders, who usually selected the long dark nights of winter, when the homesteads of the country were well stocked with kine and corn, for their most extensive depredations.¹ Under the pretext of a hunting journey, he, in January, made an expedition to Ballinacore, in the hope of surprising the redoubtable M'Hugh. As he entered the defile of Glendaloch, he must have been forcibly impressed with the wild and savage nature

all the open rebellions (even since he promised so much of his whole blood and creatures) only this wanteth, that we must think he saw not, because he looked through his fingers.

Seeing, therefore, we find himself to come in for trial, and the marshal to offer to bring proof, and that you know all this disorder in that province is derived from him, it was to us almost incredible to hear of his dismissal, having so good colour to stay him. And therefore, though now we know you yielded to others' experience, yourself being newly arrived, yet do we command you, with sound discretion, and least suspicion of any, to seek by some other means to draw him into your company; and when you have him, to make stay of him till our pleasure be known. Which, though we could not have by prison, yet may you with as much safety appoint some gentleman of good quality and strictness to accompany him, and will his servants to make sure he start not. And this to allege to be done by you for form sake, and not by new direction; which being performed, and he having, like a good subject, answered his accusations, we may with less shew of partiality shew him favour. At Greenwich, the 30th of August, 1594.

ELIZABETH, R.

To which the queen, with her own hand, added this postscript:—

Good Will.—Let not others' neglect of what they should, make you for company do what is not fit; and, above all things, hold up the dignity of a king's rule, which more consists in awe than liberty, which honours more a prince than fears a traitor. God bless you, and send you mend what hath been amiss!—*Cambridge MSS. Univ. Lib. κ. k. i. 15, p. 106.*

¹ Spenser's View of Ireland.

of the spot. The valley was shut in, as has been said, by A.D. 1595. mountains, whose vast perpendicular height threw it into gloom, and whose very summits, being covered either with brown heath or sable peat, reflected but a pale disastrous light, even when the sunshine streamed the brightest on them. On his left, russet with coppices of oak, rose Lugduff and Derrybawn, between which a swoln cataract descended, filling the region with its roar, as, in concert with many others, it leaped from crag to crag to meet the Glendala, a mountain-stream, which, after feeding one of the two loughs that give the glen its name, becomes, on its junction with the Glendasan, the more spacious Avonmore, its waters spanned by a bridge of three arches. These loughs, Superstition had in earlier ages peopled with evil spirits and fierce serpents; but the holy anchorite, Saint Kevin, fixing his abode beside it, had long since exorcised them by his prayers and miracles. In the gorge of the glen, to the height of ninety feet, soared one of those mysterious round towers for which Ireland is remarkable; and up and down the valley were the ivied ruins of oratories, churches, richly sculptured shrines, and abbeys, that had been the sepulchres of ancient kings,—melancholy relics of those Seven Churches which rendered Glendaloch so famous, when the peopled city in its bosom was in flourishing existence, and the faithful from all parts of the island crowded to its *Teampall na Skellig*, for shrift, for penance, or devotion. In the face of a precipice, formerly horrid with a wilderness of wood, which overhung the deep waters of the lake, the eye might still recognise the cavern which the saint had scooped out with his own hands for his oratory and dormitory during the austerities of Lent. But the fisher of Lochnahanlan had long ceased to listen to the “chanted hymn,” and to be amused during the solitary

A.D. 1595. hours of darkness with “the tapered rites” that had once cheered the piles within its precincts. The glory of the saint had vanished, when the apparition of the Anglo-Norman came; and the sanctuary of Glendaloch had now for centuries been known only as the haunt of outlaws, and the spot where more outrages and murders were perpetrated than in any other spot of Irish land. Only within the last few years it had been, under the management of its present chief, M’Hugh, the scene of a terrible catastrophe; for the Lord Grey, when governor of Ireland, having ordained a general gathering of the forces, had sought the glen with a determination to outroot the savage and formidable freebooter. The dangerous nature of the spot was well known to Cosby, a hoary veteran of sixty, captain of the Irish kerns, or light infantry. Warning, therefore, his comrades to be upon good guard against ambushments, for which the mountain thickets formed but too suitable a screen, he commanded them to venture boldly on, and himself rode foremost through the fatal pass. The devoted phalanx was scarcely enclosed within the meshes of this mountain-net, when it was saluted with a shower of shot on every side, from a tribe of able marksmen that were no where to be seen. The greater part were slain outright, with Carew, Moore, Audley, and the gallant Cosby; a few were taken captive, and a few, goaded by despair, succeeded, at a frightful hazard, in climbing up the lofty rocks, and carried to the hill on which the deputy was waiting, the tidings of their failure and disgrace.¹ As Sir William and his soldiery now rode through the awful valley, the memory of that rueful carnage must have added strongly to the influence of the scene before them. But they were

¹ Camden’s Annals.

not destined upon this occasion to avenge their lost compatriots; M'Hugh, upon the sudden warning of a kerne, fled from his eyrie in alarm; and the deputy, fixing a garrison in the outlaw's hold, and proclaiming him, with Rhyse his wife, Walter Riagh, and their adherents, traitors, returned to Dublin. Soon after, one of Riagh's brothers came in, and entered his submission; but another brother, Gerald, in defiance of the proclamation, issued from his haunt a few days after, and burnt Cromlin, at but two miles' distance from the city. So open a despite roused the anger of Sir William: he made a second journey to the glen, strongly fortified the place, and took James and Gerald Riagh, with a few more of the rebels. In April, Walter Riagh was himself seized in a cave by Sir Henry Harrington, sent under an escort to the council, and hung in chains without the Castle-wall. A third inroad into Wexford was undertaken in May, in which several of M'Hugh's followers were either slain or executed, and his wife and sister taken. The council pitilessly adjudged them to be burnt; but the queen, with the natural compassion of her sex, forbade the deed; and at Sir William's intercession they were respited during pleasure.

This wild species of warfare was suspended by the more serious operations rendered necessary in the north. There, at length, the treacherous Tyrone threw off his mask, and appeared openly in arms. Aware of the government's intention to form a chain of forts that should effectually overawe the disaffected lords of Ulster, he resolved, before the deputy should receive the succours which he had solicited from England, to give heart to his adherents by some sudden and important stroke. He attacked, therefore, the fort at Blackwater, expelled the garrison, endeavoured, by exasperating the Earl of Kildare against the government, to seduce him from

A.D. 1595. his allegiance, and despatched messengers to Spain for succour: at the same time that he sought to appease the indignation of the deputy by the most plausible professions of submission and duty to the crown, imputing his late step solely to the necessity of self-defence; and imploring Sir William to pause, before he drove, by any rigorous visitation of a measure so excusable, a well-disposed subject into open and irretrievable rebellion. But the letter was intercepted by the vigilance of Bagnal, who took a foe's precaution in entirely suppressing it; and Russell, incensed beyond measure at the earl's duplicity, whose character was now unveiled to him in all its depth of perfidy, was not slack in evincing his resentment. He prepared a body of troops to victual Monaghan, and constituted Bagnal his lieutenant for the service.

With one thousand five hundred foot and two hundred and fifty horse, Bagnal departed from the Newry. His progress at a certain pass was fiercely disputed by Tyrone: a bog lay on the left of the English—a shaggy wood upon the right. The earl stationed his principal battle on a hill in prospect of the strife; and from thence sent his detachments down from time to time to harass and control the foe; and a smart fire and skirmish was thus maintained for upwards of three hours. At the expiration of that time, the general made his passage good; he compelled Macmahon and Macguire to raise the siege, threw his provisions into the fortress, strengthened the garrison, and hastened to return. To return, however, was no easy task. The united Irish, to the number of eight thousand foot and one thousand horse, had closely guarded every strait and ford that he was likely to take towards Dundalk. The general changed his route, the Irish their manœuvres, and, dividing into two bands, occupied both sides of a pass, which could not

by possibility be avoided. The general's little band, when A.D. 1595. it had reached the green defile, was charged at the sword's point, to the cry of *Laundarg-abo*,¹ by the two concurring parties from the woody hills, and subjected to a smart salute of musketry. In the *mélée* that ensued, its destruction seemed frequently inevitable ; but a desperate charge at length retrieved the fortune of the day, and with a slight loss, it clove its way to freedom and the open plain. The night was passed under arms, in constant expectation of a fresh attack ; for the Irish in considerable force prowled round the camp, raising, with frequent alarums, their shrill and savage outcries. But their powder was all spent,—the morning dawned in mist, and, favoured by its friendly screen, they reached the Newry without farther loss. Between Newry and Dundalk the enemy meanwhile broke up the causeway ; and by the fall of trees and plashing of the boughs formed a natural barricade, round which they in a short time mustered fourteen thousand strong. A skiff, however, was pushed off from the near bay of Carlingford, by means of which letters were conveyed to the deputy at Dublin, apprising him of the impending danger ; and Sir William was fortunately enabled to meet the exigency of the moment, by the arrival of the troops from England, which he had long been anxiously expecting.

Sir William had written to the queen for some experienced officer to aid him in stemming the insurrection that every day seemed likely to be fraught with greater dangers. He had Captain Baskerville in his fancy when the request was made ; but at the head of the thirteen hundred soldiers who were recently arrived, veterans that had long served

¹ “The bloody hand,” which was the war-cry of O’Neale.

A.D. 1595. victoriously in Bretagne and the low countries, he now found Sir John Norris appointed his associate, or rather his compeer, with the title of General of the army of Ulster in the absence of the deputy, and an absolute power to pardon whatever malcontents he should think fit. "With what design," says Camden, "this was done, I cannot divine; most certainly it was the subject of general wonder, in regard that the very essence of government seems to consist in its being lodged in the hands of one, and nothing being either more monstrous or mischievous than a mixed or divided authority." The pretext used to colour such a check was this, that the deputy, in the event of reverses happening to the English arms, might be protected from reflection; but as his soldier-spirit was perfectly disposed to stand the consequences of any enterprise he undertook, this gloss was no abatement to the dissatisfaction which he felt. He addressed himself, however, to the courteous reception and generous entertainment of the general, marched in company with him to Dundalk, and there, on the 23d of June, by his pursuivants, openly proclaimed Tyrone and his adherents traitors, both in Erse and English. Tyrone, by fresh appeals for clemency, endeavoured to avert the rising storm; but Sir William refused even to receive his letters, and advanced upon Armagh, with the design of seizing Dungannon, as being the bridle to the town and harbour of Waterford,—the likeliest port for a descent from Spain. Tyrone, in consternation at the movement, withdrew the Irish from the barricade at Newry, abandoned the fort at Blackwater, set fire to the adjacent villages and his own town of Dungannon, not sparing his own house there, and in absolute desperation of his fortunes, seriously meditated refuge in some distant province. The messenger sent by Sir

Henry Duke to communicate a part of this intelligence, had A.D. 1595.
been intercepted by the enemy, and committed to the custody of a Galloglass, who, happily for the captive, fell asleep over his duty. The Englishman perceived it, silently unbound himself, with a blow of his own axe decapitated the unhappy sentinel, and on his arrival at the camp, laid the head, with his secreted letters, at the feet of the lord deputy. His army was unfortunately obliged to halt in its northern march for want of provisions, whereby the earl was suffered to respire. Sir William, however, placed a garrison in Armagh, and well fortified that of Monaghan. Frequent skirmishes enlivened his return. In one of these, O'Hanlon, the queen's standard-bearer, was wounded; but the mischief was repaid by the slaughter of Donnell, the foster-brother of Tyrone, and others of inferior note. At Dundalk the deputy consigned the army to the care of Sir John Norris, returned to Dublin on the 18th of July, and there kept a watchful eye on the affairs of the other provinces. The day before his return, Tirlogh M'Feogh, one of the rebels, was executed under the Castle-wall. In the same skirmish in which he appears to have been taken, the fierce M'Hugh himself was wounded in his flight; and his sword, helm, and target, were brought away in trophy of the action.

Troubles arising in Connaught, the deputy sent reinforcements to Sir Richard Bingham, and moved to Kells, to be near at hand for assistance in both provinces. Meanwhile a seminary priest was apprehended with important letters, which he was conveying from Tyrone and O'Donnell to Don Carlos and the King of Spain, advertising Philip that now or never was the time to succour their afflicted church; reminding him of the poet's declaration, that the physician's potion is prepared too late, when the

A.D. 1595. rankling disease has gathered danger by delay; yet assuring him, that if even at that eleventh hour he sent them aid, religion and the Irish kingdom would soon reflourish in all their former pride. The pretext of religion, Sir William justly regarded “as the most dangerous device that could be employed amongst the superstitious Irish:” he requested Sir Anthony Bacon to oblige him with all the private intelligence he could gather of the intentions of the Spanish court, and sent Sir Geoffrey Fenton instantly into Munster, to put the forts and havens of that province in a state of perfect preparation and defence. In Ulster Sir John Norris effected little by his arms. In revictualling Monaghan, some severe skirmishes took place, wherein himself and Sir Richard Wingfield were wounded, and in which Tyrone displayed his characteristic agility and scorn of danger. Upon one occasion, Sedgrave, an English officer, assaulted and unhorsed him; but the earl in falling contrived to seize hold of his antagonist, and dragged him to the ground. The Englishman, who still had the advantage, prepared to despatch him; but the earl, prostrate and encumbered as he was, contrived to forestall the blow by plunging a dagger deeply into the body of his opponent. At the commencement of October the army was dispersed into its winter quarters. On the 12th the deputy and general returned to Dublin.

Sir John Norris had professed to discern that the hostilities of the Irish had been principally provoked by the insolent oppression of the queen’s governors; and as the deputy declared for a vigorous prosecution of the rebels,—a judgment, the soundness of which every succeeding event but too fully tended to confirm,—he was the more tempted to adopt the opposite principle of mildness and conciliation.

This temper Tyrone, who found it necessary to protract the A.D. 1595. time until his power of mischief should be strengthened by the foreign auxiliaries which he expected, played upon by every possible art of smooth dissimulation. He painted so pathetically the condition to which he was reduced by injustice and cruelty, and insinuated so warmly his wishes to return to allegiance, that Norris began to feel a kind of pity and affection for a man so injured; he ceased not in his letters to the queen to plead for his forgiveness; and he found his views supported and his solicitations seconded by the powerful Duke of Ormond. It was in vain that Russell sought to remove the fatal misconception, conscious that concession would only increase the insolence of the insurgents, and that the faith of treaties would be violated on the first sight of a sail from Cadiz: his predictions, like those of Cassandra, were fated to be disregarded, and to be remembered only by their unfortunate accomplishment.

To extend any clemency to so bold a violator of all public engagement and personal obligation, was what Elizabeth had vowed never to consent to. Yet the urgency of these applications led her at last to relax her resolution, and she issued repeated commissions empowering some of her Irish officers to treat with Tyrone and his associates, to hear their complaints, *and to receive their overtures*, in order to an effectual accommodation. To so extraordinary a condescension she was doubtless reconciled only by the belief of some vast danger impending, if the war should be persisted in; and, in fact, intelligence had been sent by a correspondent of Sir Robert Sydney, which was confirmed by Sir Anthony Bacon's letters to the lord deputy, that there were already shipped in Spain ten thousand men, with arms and full provision for six thousand, and that the expedition was thought to be intended

A.D. 1595. first for Ireland, and next for a simultaneous invasion of England at three or four distinct points. The insurgent Irish obeyed the commissioners' invitations, but refused to meet at Dundalk, the place of their appointment; and hence the conferences were held in open field, not as a submission of rebellious subjects, but as a parley betwixt equal chieftains.

Tyrone set forth his private grievances with most moving eloquence, and made the most extraordinary demands,—a full pardon for himself and his adherents, the unrestricted exercise of their religion, the freedom of his country from English garrisons and sheriffs, the restoration of his troop of horse, and due restitution for the ravages on his domains. The rest concurred in the same general demands. O'Donnell expatiated on his ancient grievances, inflicted by Sir John Perrot; Macmahon and O'Tuathal on the rigour of Fitzwilliam. They were heard with temper, and some indulgence was acknowledged to be due to them, in consideration of their private wrongs; but the commissioners were instructed to enforce most of the points on which they demanded relaxation, and to insist that they should reveal on oath their engagements with foreign princes, supplicate forgiveness for their past commotions, and vow solemnly to enter into no future bond of confederacy against their sovereign. The chiefs rejected the conditions with disdain. They had the sagacity to discover the great inconsistency between these requisitions and the preliminary condescension; they read in it both fear and weakness; and required that messengers should be sent to England, to obtain from the queen a modification of the articles. Meanwhile, however, in subservience of their ulterior projects, they were contented to make a conditional submission, and to observe with great fidelity a truce that should be in operation till the 1st of January.

Even before this time expired, sufficient indications were A.D. 1595.
furnished of the spirit in which the truce had been agreed to. M'Hugh indeed came in, and submitted to the deputy upon his knees; but when Sir William, after proclamation given, set out for Galway to receive the submission of the Bourkes and the complaints which the lords of Connaught were, by the new policy of Norris, invited to bring against the brave Sir Richard Bingham, he found that he had gone upon "a sleeveless errand." O'Donnell, pointing towards the sea, effectually dissuaded them from coming; the grievances which the chiefs had been of late so eager to substantiate, were left to the cold appeal of written documents; and, finally, O'Donnell, Macmahon, and Con, the illegitimate son of Earl Tyrone, had the audacity, before the expiration of the truce, to possess by surprise the fort of Monaghan. Yet, in the teeth of this defiance, fresh commissions were resorted to, and the term of truce was extended to the 1st of April.

The lord deputy saw, with equal impatience and regret, the course which the English government was bent upon pursuing. He lamented to Sir Anthony Bacon, "that since the treaties for pacification and cessation of arms had been entered into, the queen had received more loss by treachery and guile than could have been inflicted in twice the time by a course of open warfare."¹ To the Earl of Essex he painted in energetic language the critical condition of the kingdom. "My former several advertisements of the Spanish preparations for these parts," he says, in a letter from Dublin, of January 26th, "are once again confirmed by a merchant of this city in manner most secret and particular. The commissioners for the treaty of peace are now upon the borders of Dundalk; they find the traitors' offers and demands

¹ Birch's Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 430.

A.D. 1596. most insolent, and unlike to their submission. For a long time I have expected little better ; Philip O'Reily has of late shewed himself openly with the earl, and by him has got the title of O'Reily, meaning thereby to command all the Brenny ; Bryan O'Rourke the title of O'Rourke, and intends to sway the whole country of Longford ; and one Glasney Macauley, according to the custom of tanistry, is made Macgennis by Tyrone, upon the death of Sir Hugh Macgennis, to the disinheriting of Arthur his son, notwithstanding he married the earl's daughter. So that, to discharge my duty and express my sentiments plainly, I protest that I think all the Irish, in general, are either in action or conspiracy, and that the whole kingdom will be lost, if the government of it be not better supplied." He earnestly, therefore, besought Essex to use his influence with the queen, now whilst the Irish were in their treaty about the peace, to send over treasure and three hundred good horse ; to meet the charge of which, he would cashier as many Irish horse and foot, on whose fidelity he could no longer depend. With this force, the report of three thousand to be ready in England on any sudden emergency, and the rumour of a similar number to be drawn out of Scotland, he trusted yet to defend the English pale from insult. He laid a great stress upon the Scots, as the Irish entertained peculiar fears of them, from the prevalence of an idle prophecy, that they were to be overpowered only by the Gael. Such a demonstration on the part of England would, he hoped, assist the completion of that peace whereof many had so high a conceit, as it would impress the rebel chiefs with an idea, that if pacification failed, his mistress was resolved most resolutely to avenge their neglect of her great clemency by a vigorous prosecution of the war.

It was thus that this estimable man, whilst exposed to

all the disadvantages arising from divided sway, foreseeing A.D. 1596. the ills that must ensue from the measures of a cabinet buoying itself up with false hopes of stifling by concessions a dangerous insurrection, patriotically sought to veil its errors, and to reconcile the prosecution of its views, however questionable the tendency of these might be, with the re-establishment of order and security. Essex, though he had many enemies at court strenuous to throw discredit on his councils,—the venerable Burleigh and the ardent Raleigh,—was fortunately successful in aiding the representations of his friend. A sum of twelve thousand pounds was sent over to him in January, two hundred thousand pounds more in February, and shortly after, the desired companies of horse. The event justified his expectation. The added force, and the rumoured preparations, struck so salutary an awe into the hearts of the insurgents, that when Norris and Fenton, at the expiration of the truce, went to prosecute the treaty of pacification, they encountered but few obstacles. Tyrone indeed would not reveal his practices with foreign powers, but he condescended to implore pardon of the queen, to use his own expression, “upon the very knees of his heart,” and confirmed his signature by the most solemn imprecations. He stipulated to desist from aiding the disaffected lords, to make his country a shire, admit a sheriff, rebuild the fort and bridge of Blackwater, supply for ready money the garrison at all times, dismiss his forces, put in pledges, and pay such reasonable fines as the queen should think appropriate.

CHAPTER XIV.

FROM THE TREATY WITH THE EARL OF TYRONE TO THE CORONATION
OF KING JAMES THE FIRST.

A.D. 1596 — 1603.

The Lord Deputy's sentiments on the treaty with Tyrone, 1596 . . . He receives Surleboy into favour, on submission . . . His excursion into Lismage, in March . . . Storms the castle of O'Maden . . . His dissatisfaction with Sir John Norris . . . Inefficacy of the treaty . . . The Irish chiefs receive succours from Spain . . . Spread of the insurrection . . . The deputy's increasing discontent . . . Perfidy of the Mac-Hugh . . . Sir William's statement of affairs, Dec. 8 . . . He solicits his recall . . . Makes a final expedition against Pheagh Mac-Hugh, March 8, 1597 . . . Returns in triumph . . . and resigns his lieutenancy to Lord Borough, May 26 . . . Spenser . . . Death of Essex, 1600 . . . Marriage of Anne Russell . . . Festivities on the occasion . . . Decease of Queen Elizabeth, 1603 — of Elizabeth, Lady Russell — and of the Countess of Warwick . . . Marriage of the Earl of Bedford . . . Lucy, Countess of Bedford . . . an attendant upon Anne of Denmark . . . Movements of the new court . . . Coronation of James the First.

A.D. 1596. IN England the greatest importance was attached to the treaty thus concluded: tidings of it brought the lord treasurer to court from a bed of sickness. Elizabeth was delighted with the apparent termination of a serious and expensive war, and applauded Norris to the height of his ambition. But the deputy could lay no stress upon concessions wrung in a moment of intimidation from a man already perjured, and entered into by him with the most suspicious alacrity. Sir William's motives for this reasonable mistrust were called in question by the friends of Norris: he was taxed with jealousy of the general's success—a charge altogether in discord with his liberal and comprehensive mind. He certainly condemned,

as an inauspicious step, the personal interview with the rebellious earl to which Norris had condescended, resenting it as a high indignity done to the sovereign whom he represented; and thought it but a duty to the state, and a justice to his own dignity, to prosecute the tumultuary chiefs in other provinces with increased activity. Surleboy, indeed, he pardoned; for this noted chief, who, with his Scottish settlers, had spread such ravage round the northern pale, had voluntarily come in, and made his submission with a barbaric state resembling that of the great Shane O'Neale, who had appeared before Elizabeth with a guard of axe-bearing Galloglasses, bareheaded, with long curled hair dependent, yellow surplices dyed deep with saffron, long sleeves, short coats, and hairy mantles, whom the people gazed at with no less admiration than at some bonze of China, or savage of America.¹ But in the country of M'Coghlan, three or four hundred other Scots had passed the Shannon, and with fire and sword were frightfully ravaging the country. Sir William, with a small force, instantly set out against them on the 6th of March; and on the 11th suddenly attacked them, with a vivacity which threw them first into confusion, and then into headlong rout. Seventy were slain upon the spot, many were wounded as they fled, and numbers of those who saved themselves by "footmanship" were drowned in crossing the waters of the Shannon.

From the field of skirmish Sir William rode against the castle of Cloghen O'Maden, in Losmage. The chief himself had gone out upon some expedition, but had left within the fortress a garrison of his chief kinsmen, archers, and fighting kerne. These, to the first summons of surrender in the name

¹ Camden's Elizabeth.

A.D. 1596. of the lord deputy, intrepidly replied, that if all in his company were lord deputies, they would scorn to yield the hold. They told him haughtily, that they would trust to its strength; and hoped on the morrow to strike as much terror into his stout heart, as he might fancy his summons had imposed on them. Interpreting this boldness into an expectation of relief, he planted a strong watch around the tower till day-dawn; and, understanding there were some women in the fortress, humanely sent to urge their dismissal, as it was his firm resolve to storm the keep with fire and sword. The message was despised, and the assault began. A firebrand, tossed to the summit, lighted on the roof, which was soon in flames. The alarm was sounded; and whilst the musqueteers kept steady play at the ramparts and the loopholes, a fire was kindled at the gate and grated windows, the stifling smoke of which soon drove the rebels from those parts. A breach was made in the walls; the soldiery swarmed in; forty-six persons, amongst whom were four of the O'Madens, atoned for their temerity by death; some perished by the sword, and some were thrown over the battlements by those whose keen sense of insult success had unassuaged. The deputy interfered to save the boys and women: after the interment of the slain, he scoured the islands of the river to dislodge the fugitive Scots, and, stationing a force there to keep the country in check, returned to Dublin on the 24th by easy hunting stages. In the forests and the mountains the wild wolf was the object of his pursuit; and it appears that in this classical but somewhat daring chase, the lady of Sir William, like another Atalanta, occasionally participated. At Dublin he made some excellent regulations against the abuses and extortions of the soldiers throughout the English pale, to which, however, though approved by all the council with

him, the president of Ulster refused to set his hand, affecting A.D. 1596. to regard them as too rigorous and stern.

The dissatisfaction which the deputy felt at this refusal was not in any-wise allayed by the other proceedings of Norris. The latter had marched into Connaught to suppress the commotions there, armed with the queen's authority to examine into what she justly termed "the monstrous accusations" brought against Sir Richard Bingham, which, wherever the sword of Norris reached, were artfully pleaded by the insurgents as the sole cause of their revolt. Their clamours were received with such credit and attention, that Bingham, in his impatience to justify his conduct, hurried without license into England. Elizabeth, instead of hearing his defence, commanded him instantly to prison, from which he was conveyed back to Connaught, in custody of Sir Conyers Clifford, his successor, where commissioners were directed to adjudge his cause, as the place where his accusers might best prove their allegations. The deputy declares, in one of his letters, that Bagnal and Sir Richard Bingham were the only two officers that from their heart thoroughly detested the great traitor; and that this had rendered them obnoxious to Sir John Norris. From the unison of his own feelings and sentiments with theirs, as well as from respect for his firm government, Sir William regarded Bingham's impeachment as an impolitic and most unjust proceeding; nor could his acquittal, and subsequent restoration to the favour of his sovereign, efface the chagrin which he felt at the severity dealt out to this deserving officer.¹

¹ From the following letter of Sir Robert Cecil, preserved in the University library at Cambridge (MS. K. K. i. 15, p. 215), it appears that his dissatisfaction was so great as to induce him to desire permission to throw up his office:—

A.D. 1596. A yet more serious concern affected him when he contemplated the prospects of the country, which promised to justify his worst forebodings and fears for the result of the late hollow treaty of pacification. Whilst the English sentinel played idly with his spear upon the ramparts, and the sword within its scabbard swung like an ornamented toy by the side of the soldiery of Ulster, three pinnaces from Spain touched upon the Galway coast, with stores of ammunition and letters from the King of Spain, exhorting the chieftains to persevere in their noble opposition, and assuring them of immediate support. Like wildfire kindled on their native moors, the tidings circulated from province on to province, and electrified the Irish throughout all their stormy septs: in the exultation of the moment past disappointments were forgotten; the treaty was bitterly repented; but their fertile genius soothed them with suggestions that means might soon

SIR ROBERT CECIL TO SIR WILLIAM RUSSELL.

July 22, 1596.

My good Lord,—I know you will be troubled with this despatch, when you shall see how much her majesty is displeased with the state of the kingdom. But out of my love, I must use freedom of speech to you, that you and others are guilty of much of your own troubles. For now that you and Sir John Norris are entered into taxation of each other, doubt ye not but advantages will be taken of it, yea, though it were in a country that yielded to the queen no other sours. And where I find you desirous to be revoked, and have been dealt with by your noble sister, I do protest unto you, that I do think it cannot be done without infinite touch to your reputation, and prejudice to her majesty's service. For first, if you should be revoked at this time, it would never be conjectured but that it grew upon some note of weakness in you, especially being done in a time when valour and discretion is most to be shewed. Besides, if her majesty by your importunity should revoke you, I know not what man this day in England that should come raw to deal with Ireland but would find himself not a little confused to succeed a man that now hath the experience and judgment gotten in three years. And therefore I conclude, that in my opinion it is but a labour in vain, which if it be not, seeing now it appeareth that there must a new way be taken, I beseech you to resort to your own wisdom, and do not *ponere rumores ante salutem*,

be found to obviate the restrictions entered into. The versa- A.D. 1596.
tile Tyrone played his usual admirable part: with one hand he transmitted his Spanish letter to the deputy, to demonstrate the boundless sincerity of his submission, a step which effectually imposed upon Elizabeth,—with the other he conveyed to Mac-Hugh, and the rest of the insurgents in Leinster and Munster, the assurance of a speedy invasion. To some he administered praise, to others promises; but all were exhorted to take up arms, and unite with the true sons of northern Ireland for the assistance of Christ's catholic religion. The fruit was shortly obvious. In May, the O'Moores were in arms, and set fire to a town of Captain Cosby's, who felt but a poor satisfaction for the loss of his brave son in the death of the chief rebel, whom he slew with his own hand. In June, the Geraldines, with the loss of one of their chiefs, burnt another town, of Captain Lea's; and in July, as was

but use that authority which her majesty hath given you, superior to all other in the kingdom, whensoever you shall find that any shall deal otherwise with you than you allow of for her majesty's service; and then shall you see whether in such proceedings any man shall be supported against you. But if you will believe bruits, and think that others are graced with secret authorities and commissions, when you know the contrary, because faction shall spread it, then shall I look for none but bad effects, whereof I protest, even for your own private discontentment (whose heart I know doth joy when things should go well for her majesty's service), I shall be as sorry as if my brother were in your place.

My lord, I do shew my folly to deal thus boldly; but the errors of goodwill ought easily to be pardoned, and others' faults I mean not to commit to you. Sir John Norris is sharply written unto particularly, although he be included in the general letter. I will only conclude, that I did not expect from two such as you are (that are no young ones in the world), so plain a course to prejudice yourselves to so little purpose, by contending for things wherein you might so easily satisfy: better expedite her majesty's service, and rid yourself of much vexation; for that I plainly see her majesty resolved (agree as well as ye can), to keep you there, till there be a better reckoning of that country. And thus for this time I commit you to God.

I am, &c. &c.

R. CECIL.

A.D. 1596. evinced by an intercepted letter, the Clanshies, at the bidding of the perfidious lords of Ulster, went into Munster to stir up troubles there; whilst some of the Butlers, the nephews of the Earl of Ormond himself, were found to be sworn confederates of the O'Moores. Abroad, indeed, the armament of Spain had received a happy check, by the sack of Cadiz under the Earl of Essex; but it was well known that the disgrace had only added fresh fuel to the King of Spain's despite: for talking with the prince and the infanta in his sick chamber, of this great success, as his Venetian ambassador acknowledged to the pope's legate, Philip said, that the Queen of England had done that which he never looked for; "but now," exclaimed he, "is the time come, when I must sell all that I have, even to that candlestick (pointing to a silver one on the table by him), to be revenged of this wrong."¹ The arrival, soon after Essex's departure, of his West-Indian fleet with a treasure of 20,000,000 crowns, gave spirit to his hopes. He obtained of his subjects an annual contribution of 1,500,000 more for twenty years, withdrew his troops from Bretagne, and recalled the forces employed, to the number of ten thousand men, in his galleys against the Turk; nor was there any endeavour to conceal the object of these preparations.

But a greater source of uneasiness than was furnished by either of these incidents remains to be disclosed. The froward proceedings of the lord-general might have been borne, the intrigues of the insurgents have been counteracted, and the island have been put in a state of defence against the menaced wrath of Spain, if the deputy had found himself possessed of the requisite credit at court to have his counsels followed,

¹ Birch's Elizabeth, vol. ii. p. 117.

his measures well supported, and his insufficient army appropriately increased. But by the appointment of Norris with independent powers, Elizabeth had in a great degree neutralised the steady vigour of his government; in the adopted plan of pacification she had abandoned his counsels for those of his co-rival; and she now parsimoniously withheld the additional forces he required, upon the pleas, that in the event of an invasion they would be wanted nearer home, and that she could not sustain in Ireland the expense of a larger military establishment. Thus he found himself responsible for the safety of the island, without the means of making it secure; whilst, on the other hand, he was charged, in letters written in a tone and temper galling to his high spirit, with being accessory to the evils resulting from a state of things which he had altogether deprecated. Nor was this the whole. With a knowledge of the fresh incitements to rebellion addressed by the northern lords to the surrounding septs, the English council gave him orders to compound with the wild outlaw, Pheagh Mac-Hugh; to receive him into mercy, both for life and land, upon payment of a feudal rent and service; with the secret instruction, that if Mac-Hugh were to insist even on the restoration of his hold at Ballincore, the point was to be conceded rather than the negotiation should be broken off; and meanwhile the deputy was to cease all prosecution of him. In regard to these pacific overtures, Mac-Hugh referred himself by letters, one of which was intercepted, wholly to the pleasure of Tyrone, requesting of him at the same time a good body-guard of musqueteers. The advice was soon apparent. During a preliminary truce, the lawless ruffian attacked the fort of Ballincore; by the treachery of a serjeant he won possession of it, took the chief commandant prisoner, cut the rest

A.D. 1596.

A.D. 1596. to pieces, and left the hold itself a heap of smoking ruins. The indignation of the deputy was roused at this insufferable insult; for three entire months he was incessantly engaged in fortifying Rathdrome church and other points in the valley of Glendaloch, with the fixed resolve of extirpating the audacious freebooter. He harassed him in all his flights from fastness to fastness, by Glenlurkin, Glenmallory, and every other pass by which his adherents could be cut off or his provisions intercepted, and thereby drove him to the last pass of suffering and despair. Tyrone, in his eagerness to rescind the recent treaty, complained of this persecution of his ally as an intolerable grievance to himself, although he had not been included in the earl's capitulation; he spread his forces in revenge around Armagh, to cut off provisions from the garrison, and finally invested the town and citadel itself. It might have been expected that this gross breach of faith would have opened the eyes of the English government to the fatality of that confidence which they were placing in treaties and professions; but when Sir William saw, that in despite of all experience fresh conferences were intended to be opened with the traitor, for accommodating the existing difference,—to be attended, in all likelihood, with the same parade of submission ending in the same breach of promise, ravage, and rebellion, he could no longer hesitate in the course to be pursued. In again respectfully soliciting that his place might be supplied by one better able, from the support with which he should be graced, to do the queen good service, he frankly stated to the privy council his grounds of discontent. In the following letter of general intelligence he requests the Earl of Essex to support his suit at the council-board.

SIR WILLIAM RUSSELL TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

Right Honourable: the several former advertisements of the A.D. 1596. Spaniards to come for this realm, are now most confidently confirmed by merchants who of late came from Spain to Dublin, Waterford, and Ross, reporting that the enemy's fleet is sailed, and before this time would have reached Ireland, if God in his mercy had not prevented them by the wreck of eighteen sail at Cape Finisterre, with about five thousand of their men, and by the dispersing of the other thirty-six sail, which are not yet known to be gotten together. If these had been here safely arrived, your lordship can conceive our present hard estate, having here not above four thousand men strong in all, which yet we have not means to keep together, for lack of victuals, six days, nor have had money of a good time but what we have found the means to borrow. It is said the rest are coming on, which for mine own part I can easily be persuaded to believe, if their numbers be answerable to the reports, being little less than twenty thousand men. The Earl of Tyrone, on the other side, hath drawn a great part of his forces to the borders, to take advantage of all occasions, and to waste and impoverish all the subjects; and the rest he hath laid about Armagh, as Mr. Marshal (Bagnal) and Captain Stafford have affirmed, with intent no doubt to carry it, as he did both Monaghan and the Cavan, and that in the like time of treaty. By another letter from the bailiff of Dundalk, it should seem, that Tyrone himself hath been in person before Armagh, and used this device to get the fort, which was very likely to have succeeded. A hundred of his men, with drum and ensign, being things of no use amongst them, marched towards the fort, driving carriages and beeves, as if from the Newry they had brought those supplies. I cannot but make account that Tyrone will soon get the place, unless he should forbear out of regard to my late letter, in which I have let him know, that I have taken into the castle of Dublin his pledges, who have hitherto remained with Captain William Warren, with purpose to execute them, and to proclaim him traitor, if he did not suffer the place to be victualled. This I think the only means to try what Tyrone will do, and the council most readily concurred in it; but I am myself of opinion that Tyrone

A.D. 1596. will not, for the sake of his pledges, let slip any advantage that he can get, but suffer them to be used as we shall think good ; since they are but children of about fourteen years of age, who, as I have often advertised, are of very small reckoning with the Irish, in regard that they cannot presently enter into action, which is the only thing that they aim at.

Your lordship can, I hope, remember, that by an act in council here, I did long ago leave to Sir John Norris the prosecution of the rebels in Ulster, in regard by special direction out of England he had a very large patent for it, which he proclaimed solemnly at Drogheda and other places, at the time of his first going northwards. Now that the earl standeth upon these terms with his forces laid upon the borders, and likely to carry away Armagh, and the Spaniards expected daily to arrive, with such an army as aforesaid, Sir John pretending to be so sick as he is not able to ride, though the loss of the kingdom depended on it (as by his letter to Sir Geoffrey Fenton may appear), lieth closely at Athlone, and there doth keep a great part of her majesty's forces to no purpose ; when such as have seen him there do affirm, that he walketh up and down daily, and is no otherwise troubled than a little sometimes with the stone. All which he doth purposely to thrust me into those actions, that thereupon he may lay to my charge the earl's breaking out. For if I should with a force have attempted the victualling of that fort, the earl would strait allege, that I came down to prosecute him, as I have done Pheagh, contrary to the agreement with the commissioners, as he hath directly affirmed by his letters ; which though the lord president doth deny (as may appear by the copy of his letter to the earl, which I send your lordship herewithal), and besides gave such way to that prosecution before I entered thereinto, as his letter to me will manifest, which is likewise herewith sent,—yet in that other letter of his to Sir Geoffrey Fenton, your lordship may perceive how he imputeth these new stirs to that prosecution of Pheagh. I humbly beseech your lordship to consider of them all, and you may find both contrariety, and a desire to tax me ; which to prevent, I make bold thus far to be troublesome to your lordship, that you may please to be provided for my just defence ; for that I do only rely upon your lordship's good favour and the goodness of my

cause. Yet, because I hate to dwell in these contentions, and find A.D. 1596.
besides, that during my time this poor country is made unhappy for lack of timely supplies and provisions, by reason I have not been countenanced and graced in my courses and endeavours, nor credited in my advices, I must still humbly pray your lordship, not only in respect of my private, but for the good of her majesty's service and the safety of her kingdom, that I may speedily be revoked, and some other placed here, whose better regard may draw more and better means for the withstanding of so imminent dangers as here are daily threatened, as well from Spain as from these rebels.

And in the meantime I am in like sort to entreat your lordship to further our present supply of three or four months' victuals beforehand, twenty or thirty lasts of powder, and a good large quantity of treasure, for it may now no longer be deferred. The forces and shipping heretofore desired, we hope are in readiness, and at the sea; and high time it is that they were here, if the Spaniards be coming, as is thus assured. Of all these things Sir Robert Gardiner is now coming to inform the queen and the lords of the council more particularly, if he may be favourably heard, and not discountenanced, being well acquainted with the state of Ireland, and how crossly Sir John Norris hath here carried matters, altogether to his own ends, and not to the good of the service. I will humbly entreat your lordship to conceal the same till his coming thither, because he otherwise doubteth like measure as the last time; for which cause he would by no means undertake to go, but that we charged him upon his duty of allegiance. From Dublin, this 8th of December, 1596.

Your lordship's ever to command,

W. RUSSELL.

It will appear unto your lordship, at Sir Robert Gardiner's coming, that the earl maketh no better reckoning of his pledges than I have ever doubted.¹

In fact, before Sir John Norris could advance to the relief

¹ Birch's Elizabeth, vol. ii. p. 224.

A.D. 1597. of Armagh, the garrison had been obliged to capitulate; but some apprehension with regard to his pledges appears to have influenced the earl to dismiss the soldiery in safety. The Earl of Essex exerted himself to fulfil the wishes of his friend; supplies of provision and treasure were sent over, and, after much prolonged discussion, a new deputy was appointed in the person of Lord Borough.

The great anxiety of Sir William to put a period to the ravages in Wicklow, led him to another expedition to the Glens, where he remained the greater part of February and March, threading the various passes and scaling the steep rocks in pursuit of the Mac-Hugh. Every day the heads of some or other of his sept were brought in by the unwearied soldiery; but in the bosky dells and dingles of that savage region, the principal object of their chase, with a sagacity and wit sharpened by an instinct of danger, managed always to escape. The spirit of the deputy, though baffled, was not conquered by these frequent disappointments: he made a final expedition on the 7th of May to Pheagh's mountain-fastnesses, where he had appointed several companies of foot to meet him. These, between two and three o'clock in the morning of the 8th, he divided into several bands, and sent them by various defiles into the valleys, with directions to beat the rebels from their lurking holes in cave and thicket, whilst he himself, with a company of horse, took stations at distances upon the hill-sides to receive the scattered fugitives. The project was at last successful. In the deep recesses of Glenmanoragh, a mantled figure was seen by one of the parties, stealing amidst the brackens of the glen, occasionally couching where the prominences of the rock might not, as he supposed, conceal him from their view; and then winding rapidly but warily through the secret coils and tangles of

the woods beyond. The signal cry was raised, and echoed A.D. 1597.
from surrounding steeps by other hunters of the prey: he was chased, for a long time, from point to point along that sylvan solitude, over hill, and brook, and torrent. Weary, faint, and breathless, he took refuge up the crags, within a secret cave which on former occasions had often sheltered him from danger. But now one Milbourne, a subordinate officer under Captain Lea, tracked him with his eye, and reached the mouth of the cave a few moments before the rest of the party. Within stood the formidable Mac-Hugh himself, glaring, like a wolf that stands at bay, on the intruder, though pale and spent with his fatigue. Milbourne ordered him to yield; but such was the fury of the soldiers who succeeded, that to capture him alive was found a thing impracticable: he accordingly rushed with the rest on the marauder, and with his own sword cut off the outlaw's head, which, after being borne in triumph to the deputy, was sent with the lifeless corse to Dublin. Numbers besides of his followers were slain, a prey was driven off of above two hundred beeves, and the other booty shared amongst the soldiers. Thus, after many years of unbridled crime and rapine, the valleys of Glendalough were freed from their tyrant, and Wicklow had repose. Three officers were knighted for this and former services upon that noted day, before the fort of Rathdrome; and the deputy's return to Dublin resembled an antique procession. From Rathdrome to Dublin was a space of thirty miles; "all the way," says his journalist, with the simplicity of an old romancer, "the people of the country met my lord with great joy and gladness; and, as their manner is, bestowed many blessings on him, for performing so good a deed, and delivering them from their long oppressions. Before his lordship came to Dublin, the lord

A.D. 1597. chancellor, with the council, divers noblemen, and the citizens of Dublin, met him with many others; and he was generally welcomed home with great joy of all her majesty's good subjects." The passage is fairly in accord with the description in which Spenser celebrates the downfall of one of his Saracens or dragons :

" Then all the people which beheld that day
 'Gan shout aloud, that unto heaven it rong;
 And all the damzels of that town in ray
 Came dauncing forth, and joyous carols song;
 So him they led through all their streets along,
 Crowned with girlonds of immortal bays;
 And all the vulgar did about them throng,
 To see the man whose everlasting praise
 They all were bound to all posterities to raise."

*F. Queen, c. ii. st. 34.*¹

The Lord Borough landed on the 15th of May; on the 22d the sword of state was delivered to him; the noblemen, knights, and gentlemen of the country, then waited on Sir William to pay their parting respects. On the 26th they accompanied him to the water-side, where he embarked with his family and retinue, and had a favourable passage to the coast of Wales.

Elizabeth was not long in perceiving, nor slow in acknowledging, the correctness of his views in the measures which he

¹ From various passages in the poet's admirable "View of Ireland," which was written but a few months before this period, we may surmise with what sentiments of pleasure he would receive tidings of the rebel's death, who had wrought such annoy to the Lord Grey de Wilton, during Spenser's secretaryship in Ireland. In this able disquisition, the origin, the nature, and cause of Pheagh's power of mischief, and the best mode of coping with the freebooter, are strongly but succinctly shewn; and as Sir William received a copy of the discourse from his friend Sir Roger Williams, it is highly probable that he derived from it many valuable hints, and especially the plan of winter operations and fortification of the passes to the glen.—See the *Essay* in the folio edition of Spenser, p. 201; London, 1679.

had so constantly advocated ; it was forced on her by each A.D. 1597.
fresh despatch from Ireland, where Tyrone broke loose from every treaty by which he had been bound, and rejected every proposal for accommodation, though weakly solicited by the government not to slight the last offers of reconciliation that the queen would condescend to make. Sir John Norris also awoke from the delusion which he had so long unfortunately cherished. His brilliant military reputation had led the English court to entertain the most sanguine expectations of his power to terminate the war with honour ; but being dissatisfied with the result, it averted from him its regards—a slight, the bitterness of which the new deputy omitted not to aggravate, by abruptly ordering him to his government of Munster. His soldier spirit could not brook the disgrace, nor bear up under the anguish of his heavy disappointment. It is affecting to add, that in the space of a few weeks, without any apparent malady beyond that of the “ mind diseased,” he expired suddenly in the embraces of his brother. The Lord Borough, on his nomination, had affected great state, and a pride somewhat imperious : he appeared before the queen in an entire suit of gold and scarlet ; and being met near the garden-door, within the court at Greenwich, by Sir Oliver Lambert, who, as he fancied, paid him not the due obeisance, he strove to pluck off the knight’s hat by force, exclaiming, that if it had not been in the precincts of the court, he would have thrust him through with his rapier.¹ He was, however, an intrepid general, and by his vigorous prosecution of the war, promised soon to reduce the mighty rebel : but his early death renewed all the distractions of the country, which were not composed till the very moment of Elizabeth’s decease, when the Lord Mountjoy beguiled

¹ Sidney Papers, vol. ii. p. 40.

A.D. 1597. the rebel earl into a precipitate and humiliating submission, which destroyed for ever his reputation with his countrymen.

In 1599, when the rumoured invasion by Spain gained a yet more serious belief, Sir William Russell was frequently called in to the queen's councils; and the chief command in Ireland was again pressed on his acceptance.¹ He steadily refused the dubious honour, but willingly consented to commit to writing his projects for the prevention of the enemy's landing on the Irish coast. He was afterwards a competitor with Sir Walter Raleigh for the government of Jersey,² but consented to resign his suit. On the arrival of an extraordinary ambassador from Russia, Sir William was sent to Gravesend to receive and escort him to the court;³ and he had shortly afterwards the honour of entertaining the queen at his house at Chiswick,⁴ the particulars of which have been unfortunately lost. He finally went back to his former government of Flushing; and a succeeding sovereign atoned for Elizabeth's neglect, by creating him a baron of the realm.

The "View of Ireland" was one of Spenser's latest compositions: he died in 1597, the year following the date affixed to it. Amongst the illustrious personages who most admired his verse, and who testified their admiration by substantial acts of generosity to him, were the Countesses of Cumberland and Warwick; to the pressing instances of one of whom we are indebted for his two Hymns upon Celestial Love and Beauty, which were *refacimentos* of his two earlier compositions in praise of female beauty and of earthly love.⁵

¹ Sidney Papers, ii. 96. ² Ib. ii. p. 210. ³ Ib. ii. p. 215. ⁴ Ib. ii. p. 231.

⁵ He forwarded his verses to the two sisters, with the following address: To the Right Hon. and most virtuous Ladies, the Lady Margaret, Countess of Cumberland, and the Lady Anne, Countess of Warwick.

Having in the greener times of my youth composed these former two Hymns in the praise of Love and Beauty, and finding that the same too much pleased those of like age and disposition, which being too vehemently carried

To the poet's wounded and agitated mind, the marks of A.D. 1597. favour and beneficence of which he speaks, must have been peculiarly soothing : for in the first rebellion of Tyrone, he had been obliged to fly from his house at Kilcolman with so much precipitation as to leave behind one of his infants, which, with several valuable manuscripts, perished in the fire which the rebels set to it. This catastrophe must have been yet more agonising to his sensibility than the loss of those lands which had been the reward of his public services, or of that pension with which Elizabeth, to the credit of her taste, had repaid the incense offered in his *Faëry Queen*, until the lord treasurer had caused it to be cut off, with the observation, " that it was far too great a sum to be expended on a ballad-maker."

The latter remark does not tell more highly for the music in Lord Burleigh's soul, than a conversation between Sir Anthony Bacon and the Dowager Lady Russell to his disadvantage as a political leader exposed to many rivalries.¹ Sir Anthony, it appears, had grievously offended Burleigh, by cultivating a close intimacy with Lord Henry Howard and the Earl of

with that kind of affection, do rather suck out poison to their strong passion than honey to their honest delight, I was moved by the one of you two most excellent ladies to call in the same. But being unable so to do, by reason that many copies thereof were formerly scattered abroad, I resolved at least to amend, and by way of retractation to reform them ; making, instead of those two hymns of earthly or natural love and beauty, two others of heavenly and celestial ; the which I do dedicate jointly unto you two honourable sisters, as to the most excellent and rare ornaments of all true love and beauty, both in the one and in the other kind ; humbly beseeching you to vouchsafe the patronage of them, and to accept this my humble service, in lieu of the great graces and honourable favours which ye daily shew unto me, until such time as I may by better means yield you some more notable testimony of my thankful mind and dutiful happiness ; and even so I pray for your happiness.

Your honours' most bounden ever in all humble service,
 Greenwich, Sept. 1, 1596. EDMUND SPENSER.

¹ See it in Birch's *Elizabeth*, vol. ii. p. 132.

A.D. 1597. Essex, to the latter of whom he was in the habit of communicating the useful intelligence which he was constantly receiving from foreign parts, through the medium of some who were obnoxious to a rigid Protestant from their Catholic faith or their suspected practices. This breach between two relatives whom she esteemed, Lady Russell strove earnestly, and at length successfully to compose. She subsequently attempted to reconcile the Earl of Essex with Sir Robert Cecil; but their dissension was rather scarred over than healed by the interposition of her "kind enchantments." On the earl's first disgrace, Lady Warwick also strove incessantly to mitigate the queen's displeasure. When he was liberated from custody, she gave him the best possible counsel, urging him to take privately some out-lodging in Greenwich, and when the queen went abroad in a good humour, of which she would apprise him, to come forth and humble himself before her in the field. Her advice for a short time sunk deep into his mind, and he resolved to follow it; but the unfortunate restoration of Cuffe, his former secretary, to his favour, whose violent suggestions had already proved so pernicious to him, diverted him from such a course; and lending a fresh ear to his dangerous insinuations, the earl embarked at length in that desperate enterprise which led to his destruction.

How seriously the queen's equanimity was disturbed by these and similar events, is too well known to need remark; but some curious tokens of her increasing peevishness are furnished in the gossip of that day, to which her maids of honour were sometimes the victims. "The queen," says Sir Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney,¹ "hath of late used

¹ Sidney Papers, vol. ii. p. 203. Elsewhere Sir Rowland alludes to the Earl of Essex's assiduous attentions to *his fairest B.*, whom Horace Walpole

the fair Miss Brydges (daughter of the Lord Chandos) with A.D. 1600.
 words and *blows* of anger;" and she, with Miss Russell, were put out of the coffer-chamber, lying three nights at Lady Stafford's, before they could return to their wonted waiting, for the unpalatable offence of taking medicine, and going through the private galleries to see the lords and gentlemen play at the *ballon*. But to whatever discourtesy of a like nature poor Miss Russell may have been subjected by a breach of court decorum, a full *amende* was made on the occasion of her sister Lady Anne's marriage with Henry Somerset, Lord Herbert,¹ son and heir apparent to Edward, fourth Earl of Worcester, which the queen condescended to honour with her presence. In the prospect of this favour, many at court, we are informed, took care to do the bride elect all possible honour they could devise; and exceedingly sumptuous preparations were made for the festivity. On the 9th of June, 1600, Lady Russell went to court for permission to bring her daughter away, "of whom the queen in public used as gracious speeches as she had ever been heard to indulge on any;" and commanded all the maids of honour to accompany her to London, as did all the lords of court. The dowager had brought a great many strangers with her; "all went in a troop away;" the court attendants filling eighteen coaches — "the like of which had not been seen among the maids." The parties were married at Black-Friars, June 16, on which day the bride met the queen at the waterside, where Lord Cobham, who had offered Elizabeth the service of his house, had provided a lectica, made like



supposes to mean the same "fair Miss Brydges;" in which case, he observes "it is evident *why* she felt the weight of her majesty's displeasure."

¹ Arms; Quarterly, France and England, within a bordure compony, *argent* and *azure*.

A.D. 1600. half a litter, wherein she was carried by six knights to Lady Russell's house. The bride was led to church by the Lords Cobham and Herbert of Caerdiff, and back by the Earls of Cumberland and Rutland. The queen dined with the party at Lady Russell's house, where "the entertainment was great and plentiful; and the mistress of the feast much commended for it." At night she passed to the mansion of Lord Cobham, where she supped. "After supper came a memorable masque of eight ladies, each clad in a skirt of cloth of silver, a rich waistcoat wrought with silks and gold and silver, a mantle of carnation taffeta cast under the arm, and their hair loose about their shoulders, curiously knotted and interlaced. The masquers were Lady Dorothy (Sidney), Miss Fitton, Miss Carey, Miss Onslow, Miss Southwell, Miss Bess Russell, Miss Darcy, and Lady Blanch Somerset, who danced to the music that Apollo brought; and a fine speech was made of a *ninth* muse, much to her praise and honour. Delicate," says the narrator, "it was to see eight ladies so prettily and richly attired. Miss Fitton led; and, after they had finished their own ceremonies, the eight lady masquers chose eight other ladies to dance the measures. Miss Fitton went to the queen, and wooed her to the dance. The queen asked what she was. 'Affection!' was the answer. 'Affection!' said the queen; 'affection is false!' yet she rose, and danced, as did the Marchioness of Winchester. The marriage-gifts were valued at one thousand pounds at least, in plate and jewels; and the bride's portion, as a younger daughter, was said to be two thousand pounds in money, a hundred and fifty pounds a-year in land, and a reversion of one thousand marks."—

"But, mortal pleasure, what art thou? In sooth,
The torrent's smoothness, ere it dash below!"

Scarcely had a fortnight elapsed ere the joy of the bridal party was changed to mourning. On the 1st of July, the elder sister, Elizabeth, was snatched away by death, so suddenly as to countenance the commonly received tradition, that the prick of a finger in some nerve forming into a gangrene, and ending in mortification, was the fatal cause that put a period to her days of youth and beauty.¹ A.D. 1603.

On the 24th of March, 1603, the queen herself, having outlived all the domestic efforts and foreign conspiracies raised to shake her throne and harm her person, closed her eyes in peace. There are a few curious particulars connected with this event in the Countess of Pembroke's Memorials, who was then in her fourteenth year. "In 1602-3, at Christmas, I used," she says, "to go much to the court, and sometimes did lie in my aunt of Warwick's chamber on a pallet, to whom I was much bound for her continual care and love of me; insomuch as if Queen Elizabeth had lived, she intended to have preferred me to be of the privy chamber; for at that time there were as much hope and expectation of me, both for my person and fortunes, as of any other young lady whatsoever. A little after the queen removed to Richmond, she began to grow sickly. My lady used to go often thither, and carry me with her in the coach; and using to

¹ She lies interred in Westminster Abbey, where her monument is shewn, chastely designed in the form of an antique altar, upon which is the figure of a female, in white alabaster, seated in a chair of the same material, her eyes closed, her head leaning on her right hand, whilst the other points downwards to the skull under her right foot, upon which she has been meditating till she has fallen asleep. The action of the figure merely signifies, that before her death she made death itself so familiar to her, that her departure, regular and composed, might properly be called a sleep; and to this the motto under her feet alludes: "*Dormit, non mortua est.*" A brief inscription on the column of the altar attests the grief of the surviving sister:—"FELICISSIMÆ MEMORIÆ SACRUM ELIZABETHÆ RUSSELLIÆ POSUIT ANNA SOROR MÆRENS."—*Dart's West. Abb.* vol. i. p. 111.

A.D. 1603. wait in the coffer-chamber, many times came home very late. About the 21st or 22d of March, my aunt of Warwick sent my mother word, about nine o'clock at night, she lying then at Clerkenwell, that she should remove to Austin Friars, her house, for fear of some commotion, though God in his mercy did deliver us from it. Upon the 24th, Mr. Hocknell, my aunt of Warwick's man, brought us word from his lady that the queen died about 2-3 o'clock in the morning: the message was delivered to my mother and me in the same chamber where afterwards I was married. About ten o'clock, King James was proclaimed in Cheapside with great joy and triumph, which triumph I went to see and hear.

“ The peaceable coming in of the king was unexpected of all sorts of people. A little after this, Queen Elizabeth's corse came by night in a barge from Richmond to Whitehall, my mother and a great company of ladies attending it, where it continued a good while standing in the drawing-chamber, and was watched all night by several lords and ladies; my mother sitting up with it two or three nights; but my lady would not give me leave to watch, by reason I was held too young. At this time we used to go very much to Whitehall, and walked much in the garden, which was much frequented with lords and ladies, being all full of several hopes, every man expecting mountains and finding molehills, excepting Sir Robert Cecil, and the house of the Howards, who hated my mother, and did not much love my aunt of Warwick. When the corse of Queen Elizabeth had continued at Whitehall as long as the council had thought fit, it was carried from thence with great solemnity to Westminster, the lords and ladies going on foot to attend it; my mother and my aunt of Warwick being mourners; but I was not allowed to be one, because I was not high enough, which

did much trouble me then. But yet I stood in the church A.D. 1603. at Westminster to see the solemnity performed."

Sir Robert Cecil, in two happy and decisive strokes, has sketched the outline of her character. "Queen Elizabeth," he says, "was often more than man, and, in good troth, sometimes less than woman!" Lady Warwick, her closest female intimate, survived the queen her mistress but a twelvemonth, expiring on the 9th of February, 1604, to the regret of numbers to whom her virtues and good offices had long endeared her. Her body was embalmed, and deposited in the vault of the church at Chenies, where she frequently resided, and where her memory is yet held in veneration; as by her last will, she devised an annual sum out of her manor at Northall, &c. for the establishment and maintenance of ten poor widows there. The dowager Lady Russell, attaining to an honourable old age, survived a few years longer. A curious letter is extant from her to Sir William Dethick, Garter king-at-arms, requesting him to furnish her with a *programme* for her funeral, and to devise it with all the state that might be due to a viscountess of birth, as she found forewarnings to provide herself with a pickaxe, &c.¹ In 1597, she complains of the infirmities of old age, and signs herself, to Sir Robert Cecil, "his owld awnt of compleat 68 years;" yet she lived until 1609, in which year, on the 2d of June, she was interred at Bisham, in the chapel founded by herself, where a very magnificent monument is erected to her memory, with the following impressive inscription, written by herself, and repeated also in Greek:—"NEMO ME LACHRYMIS DECORET, NEQUE FUNERA FLETU! FAXIT CUR? VADO PER ASTRA DEO!"

Lady Russell translated out of French a Treatise on the

¹ Edmondson's Heraldry, vol. i. Dissertation on Funerals.

A.D. 1603. *Sacrament*, which she printed in 1605, with a dedication to her daughter, Lady Herbert. She wrote both Greek and Latin verse with purity and elegance, as her inscriptions on the tombs of her husband and other relatives evince.

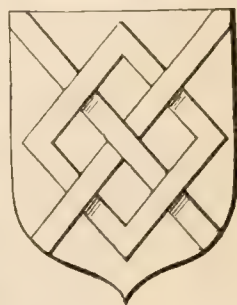
Although the Countess of Warwick and Lady Russell closely resembled each other in their deep desire to be serviceable to mankind, and in the unfeigned piety which influenced their actions, there was a striking contrast in their natural dispositions. Lady Russell's temperament was choleric and sprightly; Lady Warwick's, on the contrary, cool, serious, and sedate. Lady Russell little brooked the contradiction of her will, even whilst practising those "kind enchantments" for which Mr. Bacon celebrates her; Lady Warwick in her kindnesses appeared to have no other will than that of the person whom she studied to oblige. Lady Russell was the more admired and flattered; Lady Warwick the more beloved and cherished by her friends. Both took an active interest in those light affairs of state in which high-born genius or beauty will always find the means of exercising an influence proportionate to its ambition; but in reconciling rival courtiers, or penetrating into their opinions, Lady Warwick accomplished by insinuation¹ what her sister-in-law would carry by a *coup-de-main*, and would dive after that treasure which the Lady Russell seized whilst floating on the surface of the mind. Their tastes appear also to have been very different. A portrait of Lady Warwick, painted probably by Holbein, in half-length, richly attired, holding a purse, with a carcanet of jewels in her hair, exists at Woburn Abbey; a portrait of Lady Russell, in a costume of quaker-like simplicity,—the "*simplex munditiis*" of

¹ Vide Birch's *Elizabeth*, vol. i. p. 270-1.

Horace,—has been engraved by Bartolozzi from one of the A.D. 1603. cartoons of Holbein in the king's collection.

The young Earl of Bedford, although disappointed in obtaining the hand of the fair heiress of Chandos, was not long occupied in brooding over his mischance. On the 12th of December, 1594, he was married to Lucy, daughter and co-heiress of Sir John Harrington¹ of Exton, at his seat at Stepney—a lady not more celebrated for beauty and vivacity of wit than for her generosity to men of genius, the taste which she carried into all her pursuits, and the success with which she cultivated some of those lighter sciences that minister to taste its most refined gratification. Her ancestry in the time of King Henry the Third were Lords of Harrington in Cumberland; the family diverged into several branches, one of which, settling in Rutland, produced several knights of honourable reputation, and frequent sheriffs for the county. Her father lived to a venerable old age, “illustrious for his munificence and piety,” which were in an equal degree transmitted to his son, a youth of the highest promise. Sir John Harrington the younger, whilst he devoted much of his time to literary study, is reported to have uniformly begun and closed the day with prayer and sacred meditation, and to have been among the first who kept a diary, wherein his casual faults and errors were recorded, for his surer advancement in happiness and virtue.² Her great uncle had married for his first lady, Ethelred Malte, a natural daughter of Henry the Eighth, and by this alliance had regained some family estates which an ancestor had forfeited by taking prisoner King Henry the Sixth. He had been imprisoned in the Tower during the reign of Mary, together with his second wife, Isabella Markham, for holding a cor-

HARRINGTON.



¹ Arms; *Sable*, a fret *argent*.

² *Heræologia*, p. 134.

A.D. 1603. correspondence with the Princess Elizabeth. Queen Elizabeth accordingly held him in high favour, and stood godmother to John, his son, who was knighted in Ireland by Robert, Earl of Essex, and distinguished himself by accomplishing, at the queen's command, the first translation of Ariosto that appeared in England. Apparently, however, the father far surpassed the son in taste; for, during his captivity he is thought to have written that elegant canzonet, which is justly characterised as possessing a refinement beyond the times in which he lived.¹

¹ Whence comes my love? O heart, disclose!

It was from cheeks that shame the rose,
 From lips that spoil the ruby's praise,
 From eyes that mock the diamond's blaze:
 Whence comes my woe? as freely own:
 Ah me! 'twas from a heart like stone.

The blushing cheek speaks modest mind,
 The lips befitting words most kind;
 The eye doth tempt to love's desire,
 And seems to say, 'tis Cupid's fire;
 Yet all so fair but speak my moan,
 Sith nought doth say t e heart of stone.

Why thus, sweet love, so kind bespeak
 Sweet eye, sweet lips, sweet blushing cheek,
 Yet not a heart to save my pain?
 O Venus! take thy gifts again;
 Make nought so fair to cause our moan,
 Or make a heart that's like our own!

The spiritless character of Sir John's version led Ben Jonson to designate it, with an asperity too harsh, as the very worst translation which he knew. Warton says, more justly, that however inanimate and inaccurate, it enriched our poetry by a communication of new stores of fiction and imagination, of Gothic machinery and familiar manners: and there have not been wanting others who have even preferred Harrington to Fairfax,—a preference which, however singular, is entitled to respect, as it is said to be entertained by the able translator of Dante. It is to be remarked, that Sir John Harrington, the translator of Ariosto, when spoken of by the writers of his day, is distinguished from his cousins of Exton by the citation of his residence, which was at Bath.

Without reflecting upon the discretion or good sense of A.D. 1603. Lady Warwick, it may be questioned whether a woman's guardianship was not, on the whole, unfavourable to the youthful Earl of Bedford; and whether, had it been committed to Sir William Russell, or to any other personage conversant as well with the camp as with the court, he would not have given proofs of a more vigorous and active spirit. His knightly education, indeed, could not have been wholly neglected, as on more than one occasion he shone with the chivalric Earl of Cumberland in tilts and tourneys held in honour of the Virgin Queen;¹ but, with these exceptions, he appears to have taken no eager interest or part either in the round of court amusements or the stir of court affairs. When the Earl of Essex sallied out on his hasty insurrection, the Earl of Bedford, with the Lord Cromwell and other peers, accompanied him in his way to the city; but as the Earl of Bedford is not once mentioned in the law processes that followed, he would seem less to have been privy to the project of raising the city, than to have joined the earl intuitively from personal regard.² The risk, however, which

¹ Sidney Papers, vol. ii. p. 142.

² Whilst this portion of the work was passing through the press, the following account of the earl's proceedings, confirming the previous conjecture, has been discovered amongst the Birch MSS. (No. 4160, art. 70).

EDWARD, EARL OF BEDFORD, TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL :

with a Declaration how he did demean himself on Sunday, the 8th of February, 1603.

From Alderman Holyday's House, Feb. 14.

It was after ten o'clock, prayers and sermon begun, that the Lady Rich came to my house, and told me that the Earl of Essex desired to speak with me; upon which I went with her in her coach, none of the family following me out of the sermon-room, and I going unknown to my family. About eleven o'clock I came to Essex House, where, shortly after, the Earl of Essex with others of his company, drew themselves into secret conference, whereto

A.D. 1603. he had thus run, joined perhaps to the discontent with which his family connexions must have regarded the execution of the earl, may have concurred with his natural love of quiet and seclusion to give him a distaste for public life, in the walks of which, beyond those ceremonials of the court wherein his rank obliged him to appear, he is rarely found to mingle. The extinction of ambition might possibly exalt his real happiness: he was well fitted by his attainments to fill up the leisure of a private life with studious enjoyment. His absence from the agitation of the busy world, and indifference to the pursuits which others of his friends were following with an earnest gaiety, have drawn on him the charge of weakness from writers who could know but little of his actual character. The few letters which he has left, breathe an elegant courtesy, disclosing nothing that can fairly confirm their unauthenticated statements.

The Countess Lucy was of a stronger character and a livelier disposition; fitted alike to shine in courts, to contend with the proud and glittering rivals who might seek to eclipse or outshine her in their circle round the sun of royal favour, or to lend to the shades of retirement an equal charm

I was not called, nor made acquainted with any thing, but only of some danger which the Earl of Essex said he was in, by the practice of some private enemies. Howbeit I, doubting that that course tended to some ill, and the rather suspecting it for that I saw not my uncle Sir William Russell there, presently desired to convey myself away; and for that purpose withdrew myself so far, that I neither heard any thing of the Earl of Essex's consultation, nor yet of the speeches with the lords of the council. From that time I endeavoured to come from the Earl of Essex so far as I might with safety; and to that end severed myself from him at a cross-street end; and, taking water, before I heard any proclamation, came back to my house about one o'clock; where I made no delay, but with all convenient speed put myself and followers in readiness; and with the best strength I could then presently make, being about the number of twenty horse, I went toward the court for her majesty's service.

and lustre, derived from the inward reflections of talent and of taste. It is well known with what jealous care the privy council of Elizabeth, on the demise of that princess, sought to guard the mind of the new sovereign from the interposition of any other influence than their own; they endeavoured to restrain the concourse of courtiers that thronged to him in Scotland, and appointed their own deputation, both of lords and ladies, to congratulate and conduct their majesties into England. But as, upon the one hand, Sir Robert Carey found means to baffle their vigilance, and was the first to convey to the King of Scots the news of his accession to the English throne; so, upon the other, a flight of ladies, the Countess of Bedford, Lady Hastings, Lady Cecil, Lady Hatton, Lady Harrington, and others, equally forestalled the appointments of the council, and flocked into the north, to present their respects and proffer their attendance to the new queen. Anne of Denmark received them cordially: she immediately appointed Lady Bedford to her privy chamber, whilst her mother, the Lady Harrington, was intrusted with the education of the Princess Elizabeth: the rest were left alternating long between their hopes and fears; and the envied circle, after a six months' interval, remained still unsettled. The delay gave room to as much intrigue and debate amongst the ladies of that court as can have been witnessed in more recent times. The Earl of Worcester writes to Lord Shrewsbury,—but we may hope that the love of wit has tipped his shafts with a little undue venom,—“ All the rest are for the private chamber, *when they are not shut out*; for many times the doors are *locked*. But the plotting and malice amongst them is such, that I think Envy hath tied an invisible snake about most of their necks, to sting one another to death!”

A.D. 1603.

A.D. 1603. Sir John Harrington, of Exton, had the honour of entertaining the king in his journey from Scotland, at his noble seat of Burley on the Hill, where a long copy of congratulatory verses was presented to him by Daniel the poet. Sir John is described by Fuller to have been a bountiful housekeeper; James was bravely banquetted, and when he pursued his journey found excellent amusement in pursuing, with Sir John's well-trained hounds, the hares which his host had sent beforehand for this purpose in baskets to Emington Heath. The monarch was, in fact, so much pleased with the good knight's attention, that he revisited his house a few days after. On the 3d of May, he reached Theobalds, the seat of Sir Robert Cecil, whither many of the nobility, together with the late queen's old servants and officers of the household, repaired to pay their compliments. "A little after the queen's funeral," says Lady Anne Clifford, "my lady (of Cumberland) and a great deal of other company, as Mrs. Elizabeth Brydges, my Lady Newton, and her daughter my Lady Finch, went down with my aunt of Warwick to Northall, and from thence we all went to Theobalds to see the king, who used my mother and my aunt very graciously; but we all saw a great change between the fashion of the court as it was now and of it in the queen's time. Innumerable," she adds, "were the knights that were then made."

The queen, meanwhile, continued still in Scotland; but as the month of July was fixed for the coronation, she awaited only her recovery from an indisposition to commence her journey for England, with the young prince and her household. On the 24th of June, she had reached Dingley, near Leicester, a house belonging to Sir Thomas Griffin; and here the two sister countesses first paid to her their compliments: their movements are thus delineated by the Lady Anne:—

“ All this early spring I had my health very well; my A.D. 1603.
father used to come sometimes to us at Clerkenwell, but not often; for he had at this time, as it were, wholly left my mother. About this time my aunt of Bath and her lord came to London, and brought with them my Lord Fitzwarren¹ and my cousin Frances Bouchier,² whom I met at Bagshot, where I lay all night with her and Mrs. Mary Carey, which was the first beginnings of the greatness between us. About five miles from London, there met them my mother, my Lord of Bedford and his lady, my uncle Russell, and much other company, so that we were in number about three hundred, which did all accompany them to Bath House, whither I went daily and visited them, and grew more inward with my cousin Frances and Mrs. Carey.

“ About this time my aunt of Warwick went to meet the queen, having Mrs. Brydges with her, and my (cousin) Anne Vavisour. My mother and I should have gone with them, but that her horses, which she borrowed of Mr. Elmers and old Mr. Hickley, were not ready; yet I went the same night, and overtook my aunt at Tittenhanger, my Lady Blount's house, where my mother came the next day about noon, my aunt being gone before. Then my mother and I went on our journey to overtake her, and killed three horses that day with extremity of heat; and came to Wrest, my Lord of Kent's house, where we found the doors shut, and none in the house but one servant, who only had the keys of the hall; so that we were enforced to lie in the hall all night, till towards morning, at which time came a man and let us into the higher rooms, where we slept three or four hours. This morning we hasted away betimes, and that

¹ Edward Bouchier, afterwards fourth Earl of Bath.

² Sister of the above.

A.D. 1603. night to Rockingham castle, where we overtook my aunt of Warwick and her company, and continued a day or two with old Sir Edward Watson and his lady. Then we went to my Lady Needham's, who once served my aunt of Warwick, and from thence to a sister of her's, whose name I have forgotten. Thither came my Lady of Bedford, who was then so great a woman with the queen, as that every body much respected her, she having attended the queen from out of Scotland. The next day we went to Mr. Griffin's, of Dingley, which was the first time I ever saw the queen and Prince Henry, where she kissed us all, and used us kindly. Thither came my Lady of Suffolk, and young Lady Derby, and my Lady Walsingham, which three ladies were the great favourites of Sir Robert Cecil. That night we went along with the queen's train, there being an infinite company of coaches; and, as I take it, my aunt, my mother, and I, lay at Sir Richard Knightley's, where my Lady Elizabeth Knightley made exceeding much of us. The same night my mother and I, and my cousin Anne Vaviseur, rode on horseback through Coventry, and went to a gentleman's house, where the Lady Elizabeth her grace lay, which was the first time I ever saw her; my Lady Kildare and the Lady Harrington being her governesses. The same night we returned to Sir Richard Knightley's, and the next day went along with the queen to Althorp, my Lord Spencer's house."

At the entrance of the gardens at Althorp, the whole party were entertained with the unexpected presentment of a masque, prepared for the occasion by Ben Jonson, the sprightly fancy and delicate compliment of which form a refreshing contrast to the jejune and grossly flattering speeches current during the late reign. "From Althorp," resumes our fair narrator, "the queen went to Sir Hatton Fermor's, where

the king met her; where there was an infinite company of lords and ladies and other people, that the country could scarce lodge them. From thence the court removed, and were banqueted with great royalty by my father at Grafton, where the king and queen were entertained with speeches and delicate presents; at which time my lord and the Alexanders did run and course at the field, where he hurt Henry Alexander very dangerously. At this time of the king's being at Grafton my mother was there; but not held as mistress of the house, by reason of the difference between my lord and her, which was grown to a great height. The night after, my aunt of Warwick, my mother, and I, lay at Dr. Chaloner's, where my aunt of Bath and my uncle Russell met us (which house my grandfather of Bedford used to lie much at), being in Amersham. The next day the queen went to a gentleman's house, where there met her many great ladies to kiss her hands, as the Marchioness of Winchester, my Lady of Northumberland, and my Lady of Southampton. From thence the court removed to Windsor, where the feast of St. George was solemnised." There, on the 2d of July, the young prince was installed knight of the garter, and had for his companions in that honour, the Duke of Lennox and the Earls of Southampton, Marr, and Pembroke. "I stood with my Lady Elizabeth's grace in the shrine, in the great hall, to see the king and all the knights sit at dinner. Thither came the archduke's ambassador, who was received by the king and queen in the great hall, where there was such an infinite company of lords and ladies, and so great a court, as I think I shall never see the like. At Windsor, there was such an infinite number of ladies sworn of the queen's privy chamber, as made the place of no esteem or credit. Once I spake to my Lady of Bedford to be one, but had the good fortune to miss it.

A.D. 1603.

A.D. 1603. “ From Windsor the court removed to Hampton Court, where my mother, my self, and the other ladies, dined in the presence, as they used in Queen Elizabeth’s time ; but that custom lasted not long.

“ A little afore this time, my mother and I, my aunt of Bath, and my cousin Frances, went to Northall (my mother being extreme angry with me for riding before with Mr. Meverell), where my mother, in her anger, commanded that I should lie in a chamber alone, which I could not endure ; but my cousin Frances got the key of my chamber, and lay with me, which was the first time I loved her so very well. And now was the Master of Orkney and the Lord Tullibardine much in love with Mrs. Carey, and came thither to see us, with George Murray in their company, who was one of the king’s bedchamber.

“ Upon the 25th of July the king and queen were crowned at Westminster. My father and my mother both attended them in their robes, my aunt of Bath, and my uncle Russell, which solemn sight my cousin Frances stood to see, though she had no robes, and went not amongst the company ; but my mother would not let me see it, because the plague was so hot in London. Therefore I continued at Norbury. After the coronation the court returned to Hampton Court, where my mother fetched me from Norbury ; and so we lay at a little house near, about a fortnight, and my aunt of Bath in lodgings, where my cousin Frances and I, and Mary Carey, did use to walk much about the gardens and house, when the king and queen were gone. And about this time my cousin Anne Vavisour was married to Sir Richard Warburton.

“ Now was my Lady Rich grown great with the queen, insomuch as my Lady of Bedford was something out with

her, and when she came to Hampton Court, was entertained A.D. 1603.
but even indifferently. And before Christmas my cousin Frances was sent for from Nonsuch to Northall, by reason that the Lady Elizabeth's grace, with whom she purposed to continue, was (soon) to go from thence to be brought up with the Lady Harrington in the country. All the time we were merry at Northall, my cousin Frances Bouchier, and my cousin Francis Russell, and I, did use to walk much in the garden, and were great one with the other."

The Lady Anne has already noticed the great number of gentlemen on whom the king conferred the honour of knighthood. With his coronation, it ceased to be regarded as a favour, summons being issued for all possessors of land to the value of forty pounds a year, either to come and be dubbed knights, or to compound with the commissioners. No fewer than three hundred submitted to the ceremony. A few however, to grace the coronation, were admitted to superior dignities. On the 21st of July, Sir William Russell was created Baron Russell of Thornhaugh, and Sir John Harrington, Lord Harrington of Exton; and on the 24th, when sixty knights of the bath were created, the same Order was offered to the Earls of Bath and Bedford, and seven other peers; but these declining it upon various pleas, the earls declined also. The Earl of Bedford, however, at a later period, seems to have accepted some honorary situation, being represented in both his portraits in an apparently official gown, richly decorated with gold lace, and with sleeves dependent reaching almost to the ground.

CHAPTER XV.

FROM THE CORONATION TO THE DEATH OF KING JAMES THE FIRST.

A.D. 1603-1625.

The Countess of Bedford prominent in the festivities and masques at court, 1603-5 . . . Interview of her kinsman, Sir John Harrington, with the king, 1606 . . . She takes part in the entertainment on the marriage of the Earl of Essex, January 5 . . . Powder-plot . . . She assists in the Masques of Beauty, 1608 — and of Queens, February 2, 1609 . . . Character of Anne of Denmark . . . The countess's warning to Lord Herbert of Cherbury, 1610 . . . Court intelligence . . . Power of Sir Robert Carr, 1611 . . . Death of Baron Thornhaugh, 1613 . . . Lady Anne Clifford . . . Her portraiture, and marriage, 1614 . . . Death, and character of the Countess of Cumberland, 1616 . . . Countess of Bedford at the marriage of Princess Elizabeth, 1613 . . . Her domestic calamities, 1614 . . . She introduces Villiers to the presence-chamber, 1615 . . . Manages the marriage of Lady Lucy Percy, February 1617 . . . Death of Anne of Denmark . . . Donne, Daniel, and Ben Jonson . . . Countess's letter to the Queen of Bohemia, 1619 . . . Her accomplishments . . . Her garden at Moor Park . . . Aspersions of Grainger and Pennant . . . Demise of the earl and countess, 1627-8 . . . Character of the latter . . . Death of James the First, March 27, 1625.

A.D. 1603. THE Countess of Bedford soon emerged from the obscurity cast by the shadow of the Lady Rich, and again shone foremost in those court festivities which require commemoration, as fragments of her personal history, independently of any interest which they may otherwise possess. She was "the crowning rose" in that garland of English beauty which the Spanish ambassador desired Madame Beaumont, the lady of the French ambassador, to bring with her to an entertainment on the 8th of December, 1603: the three others being Lady Rich, Lady Susan Vere, and Lady Dorothy (Sidney);

“and,” says the Lady Arabella Stuart, “great cheer they A.D. 1605. had.” A fortnight after, the Duke of Lennox, Earl of Marr, and others, were invited to bring with them, to a second banquet, a selection of the *Scottish* beauties, among whom were the Lady Anne Hay and Lady Drummond, who, after the sumptuous dinner, were first presented with two pair of Spanish gloves a-piece, and before they went away, Lady Drummond had a diamond ring valued at two hundred crowns, and Lady Anne a golden chain that twined twice about her neck. At Christmas the countess took a part with the queen and ten other of the ladies of honour, in a masque at Hampton Court, written by Daniel, who afterwards published it, with an explanatory letter “to his patroness, the Lady Bedford.”

In the state procession of the king and queen, from the Tower to Westminster, on the 15th of March, the earl and countess, with the sister countesses of Cumberland and Bath, Lord Russell, and his son Sir Francis, necessarily appeared, and endured with the requisite patience the recitation of the various verses and orations delivered upon the occasion, which, though written principally by Drayton and Dekkar, were scarcely relieved by any touch of genius or imagination.

Their classical reception on the 1st of May, when they visited Sir William Cornwallis, at his house at Highgate, was of a very different character. The “*Penates*” of Ben Jonson was first delivered upon this occasion, and proved a delightful relief from the oppressive memory of the former day.

It was impossible to be otherwise than fascinated by the poetical blandishments of such a writer. The queen’s estimation of his merits was industriously cherished by the Countess of Bedford, who testified her own admiration of the poet by several acts of generosity, to which he has rendered many

A.D. 1605. grateful tributes of acknowledgment. Under her protection and encouragement, he applied himself to the composition of the other Masques which have immortalised his name, and which, aided as they were by every embellishment that wealth could command or ingenuity devise, have given to the court of Anne of Denmark its principal and peculiar celebrity. For the Twelfth Night of 1605 his “Masque of Blackness” was produced, with a magnificence that can be faintly imaged to us by the knowledge of its cost.¹ It was represented in the banqueting-room at Whitehall, the chief parts being sustained by the queen, the Countess of Bedford, and ten other ladies of the court. The apposite poetical imagery and accompaniments employed in the conduct of the fable are set forth by Jonson himself with infinite force and beauty.

Of the number of those who, in the prospect of a new sovereign, had early sought to commend themselves to his notice, was Sir John Harrington, of Bath. He had sent the king, as a new-year’s present, in 1603, a curious dark-lantern, evidently fabricated before Elizabeth’s decease, as it bore for its motto the significant passage, “*Domine, memento mei cùm veneris in regnum.*” This gift the king was pleased to acknowledge with his hearty thanks, and the assurance that he would not be unmindful “to extend his princelie favoure heirafter to him and his particulers at all guid occasions.” The “guid occasion” came. James expressed a wish to see the person whose parts were a theme of commendation. The knight was ushered into his presence; and in a letter highly characteristic of both parties—of the sovereign’s pedantry and his own complacency—he gives an account of the interview.

¹ Three thousand pounds.

TO SIR AMYAS PAULETT.

My loving Cousin,—It behoveth me now to recite my journal A.D. 1606. respecting my gracious command of my sovereign prince to come to his closet, which matter, as you so well and urgently desire to hear of, I shall, in such wise as suiteth my best ability, relate unto you, and it is as followeth :—

When I came to the presence-chamber, and had gotten good place to see the lordly attendants, and bowed my knee to the prince, I was ordered by a special messenger, and that in secret sort, to wait awhile in an outward chamber, whence, in near an hour waiting, the same knave led me up a passage, and so to a small room, where was good order of paper, ink, and pens, put on a board for the prince's use. Soon upon this, the prince's highness did enter, and in much good humour asked, if I was cousin to Lord Harrington of Exton? I humbly replied, his majesty did me some honour in inquiring my kin to one whom he had so lately honoured and made a baron; and moreover did add, we were both branches of the same tree. Then he inquired much of learning, and shewed me his vein in such sort as made me remember my examiner at Cambridge aforetime. He sought much to know my advances in philosophy, and uttered profound sentences of Aristotle, and such like writers, which I had never read, and which some are bold enough to say, others do not understand; but this I must pass by. The prince did now press my reading to him part of a canto in Ariosto; praised my utterance, and said, he had been informed of many as to my learning in the time of the queen. He asked me what I thought pure wit was made of, and whom it did best become? Whether a king should not be the best clerk in his own country, and if this land did not entertain good opinion of his learning and good wisdom? His majesty did much press for my opinion touching the power of Satan in matter of witchcraft, and asked me, with much gravity, "If I did truly understand why the devil did work more with ancient women than others?" He was pleased, moreover, to say much and favouredly of my good report for mirth and good conceit: to which I did covertly answer, as not willing a subject should be wiser than his prince, nor even appear so. More

A.D. 1606. serious discourse did next ensue, wherein I wanted room to continue, and sometimes room to escape; for the queen, his mother, was not forgotten, nor Davison neither. His highness told me her death was visible in Scotland before it did really happen, being, as he said, “spoken of in secret by those whose power of sight presented to them a bloody head dancing in the air.” He then did remark much on this gift, and said he had sought out of certain books a sure way to attain knowledge of future chances. Hereat he named many books, which I did not know, nor by whom written; but advised me not to consult some authors, which would lead me to evil consultations. We next discoursed somewhat on religion, when, at length, he said, “Now, sir, you have seen my wisdom in some sort, and I have pried into yours. I pray you do me justice in your report; and in good season I will not fail to add to your understanding in such points as I may find you lack amendment.” I made courtesy hereat, and withdrew down the passage and out at the gate, amidst the many varlets and lordly servants who stood around.

Thus you have the history of your neighbour’s high chance and entertainment at court; more of which matter when I come home to my own dwelling, and talk these affairs in a corner. I must press to silence hereon, or otherwise all is undone. I did forget to tell that his majesty much asked my opinion of the new weed tobacco, and said, “it would by its use infuse ill qualities on the brain, and that no learned men ought to taste it, and wished it forbidden.” I will now forbear further exercise of your time, as Sir Robert’s man waiteth for my letter to bear to you from

Your old neighbour, friend, and cousin,

JOHN HARRINGTON.

January, 1606.

In the same month was solemnised the marriage of Robert, Earl of Essex, and Frances, daughter of the Earl of Suffolk, with a magnificence nearly equal to that of a crowned prince. For the festivities that followed, the prolific muse of Jonson was put in requisition, and the “Masque

of Hymen" was enacted; "the exquisite performance of A.D. 1606. which," he says, "independent of the pomp of the machinery and splendour of the dresses, was alone of power to surprise with delight, and steal away the spectators from themselves. Nor was there wanting whatsoever might add to the general effect, either in riches or strangeness of the habits, delicacy of dances, magnificence of the scene, or divine rapture of music. The only envy was, that it lasted not still; or now that it is past, that it cannot by imagination, much less description, be recovered to a part of that spirit it had in the gliding by." The part assigned to the Countess of Bedford in this learned and fanciful production was as one of the eight nuptial powers of Juno Pronuba, who, as if by enchantment, descended on an admirably-painted globe, that was borne by clouds over the figures of Hercules and Atlas; "who, as the sphere moved, seemed also to bow themselves, (by virtue of their shadows), and so discharged their shoulders of that glorious burden." Never was there representation upon which more ingenuity or luxury was lavished, nor one that appears, from the testimony of the eye-witnesses, to have excited higher admiration and applause. Of the heroine of that sumptuous entertainment it is unnecessary here to speak; she is but too well known as the subsequent wife of Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset.

The country had not yet recovered from the exasperation occasioned by the discovery of the powder-plot, the atrocity of which was destined to prejudice (unfortunately for the triumph of the true principles of Christian toleration), the rights and interests of many unborn generations. As one object of the conspirators had been to seize the person of the Princess Elizabeth, then residing at Combe Abbey, in Warwickshire, the seat of the Lord Harrington, this nobleman

A.D. 1606. had been placed in a situation of much peril and perplexity. But their scheme in this particular was frustrated by his vigilance; and after securing the safety of the princess, he had been active in the pursuit and seizure of several of the suspected gentlemen in their flight. Now that the public alarm was somewhat allayed by the delivery of the principal traitors into the hand of justice, he found leisure to enter into some detail of his proceedings, to satisfy the anxious desire of his kinsman, and addressed the following letter

TO SIR JOHN HARRINGTON, OF BATH.

Much-respected Cousin,—Our great care and honourable charge intrusted to us by the king's majesty, hath been matter of so much concern, that it almost effaced the attention to kin or friend. With God's assistance, we hope to do our Lady Elizabeth such service as is due to her princely endowments and natural abilities, both which appear the sweet dawning of future comfort to her royal father.

The king hath got at much truth from the mouths of the crew themselves, for guilt hath no peace, nor can there be guilt like theirs. One hath confessed that he had many meetings at Bath about this hellish design; you will do his majesty unspeakable kindness to watch in your neighbourhood, and give such intelligence as may further inquiry. We know of some evil-minded Catholics in the west whom the prince of darkness hath in alliance; God ward them from such evil, or seeking it to others. Ancient history doth shew the heart of man in divers forms. We read of states overthrown by craft and subtilty; of princes slain in the field and closet; of strange machinations devised by the natural bent of evil hearts; but no page can tell such a horrid tale as this. Well doth the wise man say, 'the wicked imagineth mischief in secret.' What, dear cousin, could be more secret, or more wicked? A wise king and wise council of a nation at one blow destroyed in such wise as was now intended, is not matchable: it shameth Caligula, Erostratus, Nero, and Domitian, who were but each of them fly-killers to these wretches. Can it be said that religion did

suggest these designs? Did the spirit of truth work in their hearts? A.D. 1606.

How much is their guilt increased by such protesting! I cannot but mark the just appointment of Heaven in the punishing of these desperate men who fled to our neighbourhood; you hear they suffered themselves by the very means they had contrived for others. A barrel of gunpowder was set on fire during the time that the house was besieged, and killed two or three on the spot: so just is the vengeance of God! I have seen some of the chief, and think they bear an evil mark in their foreheads; for more terrible countenances never were looked upon. His majesty did sometime desire to see these men; but said he felt himself sorely appalled at the thought, and so forbore. I am not yet recovered from the fever occasioned by these disturbances. I went with Sir Fulke Greville to alarm the neighbourhood, and surprise the villains who came to Holbeche, and was out five days in peril of death, and in fear for the great charge I left at home. Wynter hath confessed their design to surprise the princess at my house, if their wickedness had taken place in London: some of them say she would have been proclaimed queen. Her highness doth often say, "What a queen should I have been by this means! I had rather have been with my royal father in the Parliament House than wear his crown on such condition!" This poor lady hath not yet recovered the surprise, and is very ill and troubled.

I hear by the messenger from his majesty that these designs were not formed by a few; the whole legion of Catholics were consulted; the priests were to pacify their consciences, and the pope confirm a general absolution for this glorious deed, so honourable to God and his holy religion! His majesty doth much meditate on this marvellous escape, and blesses God for delivering his family, and saving his kingdom from the triumphs of Satan and the rage of Babylon. My being created Baron of Exton did give much offence to some of the Catholics; and his majesty's honouring my wife and self with the care of the Lady Elizabeth stirred up much discontent on every side. I only pray God to assist our poor endeavours, and accept our good will to do right herein, maugre all malice and envious calumny. If I can do you any service with the king, you may command my friendship in this,

A.D. 1606. and every other matter I can. He hath no little affection for your poetry and good learning, of which he himself is so great a judge and master. My Lady Sidney desires her remembrance to you, as do all friends from Warwickshire. I hope your disorder is much better; may you feel as much benefit from the baths as I did aforetime! Thus, dear cousin, I have given my thoughts at large of our sad affright, as you desired by your son's letter, which is notably worded for his age. My son is now with Prince Henry,¹ from whom I hope he will gain great advantage from such towardly genius as he hath, even at these years. May Heaven guard this realm from all such future designs, and keep us in peace and safety!

My hearty love waits on Lady Mary, and every one belonging to her household. Pray remember what I desire, as to noticing evil-minded men in your parts, as it is for the king's sake, and all our own sakes. Adieu, dear cousin.

HARRINGTON.

The court, after the execution of the criminals, was not long in returning to its customary round of amusements. The masque produced in 1608 was, at the queen's desire, a counterpart of the last, and called the "Masque of Beauty," the actors the same as figured in the former

¹ The great congeniality in the dispositions of these two young noblemen soon rendered them close friends as well as companions; insomuch that the prince, when his portrait was to be taken, chose to have that of young Harrington introduced, attending on him at the slaughter of a deer. It was to him also that the following characteristic note was addressed, accompanying "An account of the Barons of Harrington," which Dugdale has printed in his *Baronage*:—

My good Fellow, — I have here sent you certain matters of ancient sort, which I gained by search in a musty vellum book in my father's closet; and as it hath great mention of your ancestry, I hope it will not meet your displeasure. It gave me some pains to read, and some to write also; but I have a pleasure in overreaching difficult matters. When I see you (and let that be shortly), you will find me your better at tennis and pike.

Good fellow, I rest your friend,

HENRY.

Your Latin letter I much esteem, and will at leisure give answer to.

masque. The colours of the masquers varied: half were A.D. 1609. dressed in orange-tawney and silver, half in silver and sea-green; and so exceeding, says the author, were the vests in riches, "that the throne whereon they sat seemed to be a mine of light, struck from their jewels and their garments."

On the 2d of February, 1609, Lady Bedford again assisted in the "Masque of Queens," which was preceded by the celebrated "Antemasque of Witches," for whose accompaniments and incantations every ancient authority was ransacked by Jonson; and the skill with which he has combined the various attributes that have either been assigned in superstitious ages to those malignant beings, or that could add horror to the spells which they pronounce, is truly remarkable.

Although the "Masque of Queens" was not the last entertainment of its kind in which Anne of Denmark figured, it appears to have been the last in which Lady Bedford took a part. It is impossible to read the descriptions of these brilliant and expensive shows, in which the queen was so conspicuously made the object of applause, and of compliment carried to the very verge of daring, though of graceful adulation, without being satisfied with the truth of those accounts that charge her with uniting to no ordinary share of natural vanity a boundless love of admiration. It is thus that, at this precise period, Cardinal Bentivoglio, nuncio at Brussels, describes her to the court of Rome: "The queen, a sister of the King of Denmark, is praised as one of the handsomest princesses of her time. She shews a noble spirit, and is singularly graceful, courteous, and affable. She delights beyond measure in admiration and praises of her beauty, in which she has the vanity to think that she has no equal. Hence she makes public exhibitions of herself in

A.D. 1609. a thousand ways and with a thousand different inventions, and sometimes to so great an excess, that it has been doubted which went furthest—the king in the ostentation of his learning, or the queen in the display of her beauty. She is much attached to the free mode of life customary in England; and as she is very affable, she often puts it in practice with the ladies whom she admits to the greatest intimacy, visiting them by turns at their own houses, where she diverts herself with private amusements, laying aside all the dignity and majesty of a princess. She rails against the Italian jealousy of women, and has more than once said jestingly to the ambassadors of Italian princes, that their countrymen ought to be banished from England, for fear of their introducing the fashion of jealousy. She is fond of festivals after the mode of Italy, has a great taste for every thing Italian, and understands the language very well. Her great passion is for balls and public entertainments, which she herself arranges, and which serve as a public theatre on which to display her grace and beauty.” The freedom of her manners here alluded to, although perhaps arising from the exuberance of her affable and bounteous nature, betrayed her occasionally into indiscretions which had their influence on the character and habits of her court. Lord Herbert of Cherbury, the accomplished Quixote of an age that, with little of the essence, wore still the outward trappings of chivalry, scarcely veils, in his *Memoirs*, the insinuation that the queen possessed his picture, and would frequently “hang over it enamoured.” Such a shew of attachment Queen Elizabeth, without any great reproach, may have equally indulged in towards Dudley or Devereux. The admiration for heroic valour which a sovereign might deem herself privileged to avow to a subject, was now, however, imitated by

other ladies, who could not plead, against the whispered A.D. 1610.
gossip of the day, the guardian barrier of a loftier station.
Of this number was the wife of Sir John Ayres: she
was one of the queen's attendants, and so far followed the
royal predilection, as to wear herself Lord Herbert's picture.
But Platonic love was the fashion of a bygone reign: the
new school of knights shaped its course by other maxims.
Sir John Ayres came to a knowledge of the circumstance,
and a violent jealousy took possession of his mind. Lord
Herbert was warned by the Countess of Bedford of some
secret mischief vowed against him; but the friendly intima-
tion scarcely saved him from falling a victim to the knight's
intemperate rage. He was suddenly set upon, without any
previous challenge or forewarning, by the treacherous Ayres
and four of his bravos; but after a long conflict, maintained
with astonishing address and resolution, he succeeded in dis-
arming or putting his antagonists to flight, and retired only
with a few flesh-wounds from the scene of danger. Being
summoned before the privy-council, he vindicated, to their
entire satisfaction, his own innocence in the affair; and some
years afterwards, when Ayres was in danger of receiving
violence from his servants, as he passed through Beaumaris
from Ireland, he interfered to protect the man, with a gene-
rosity that elicited an appropriate acknowledgment from the
disconcerted knight himself. The anecdote has a forbidding
aspect; but it furnishes a picture of one of the many feuds
and brawls that were fostered by the growing luxury, if not
dissoluteness, of the courtiers. A much livelier illustration,
however, of the manners of the court is conveyed in the
curious letter to Sir John Harrington of Bath from the
Earl of Suffolk, written in 1611, when the king's fami-
liar favour had fully settled on Sir Robert Carr, now a

A.D. 1611. gentleman of his bedchamber, whose subsequent story is closely connected with one of the future subjects of these Memoirs:—

My good and trusty Knight,—If you have good will and good health to perform what I shall commend, you may set forward for court whenever it suiteth your own conveniency. The king hath often inquired after you, and would readily see and converse again with the “merry blade,” as he hath oft called you since you was here. I will now premise certain things to be observed by you toward well gaining our prince’s good affection: he doth wondrously covet learned discourse, of which you can furnish out ample means; he doth admire good fashion in clothes, I pray you give good heed hereunto. Strange devices oft come into man’s conceit; some regardeth the endowments of the inward sort, wit, valour, or virtue; another hath, perchance, special affection towards outward things, clothes, deportment, and good countenance. I would wish you to be well trimmed; get a new jerkin well bordered, and not too short; be sure it be not all of one sort, but diversely coloured, the collar falling somewhat down, and your ruff well stiffened, and bushy. We have lately had many gallants who failed in their suits for want of due observance of these matters. The king is nicely heedful of such points, and dwelleth on good looks and handsome accoutrements. Eighteen servants were lately discharged, and many more will be discarded, who are not to his liking in these matters. I wish you to follow my directions, as I wish you to gain all you desire.

Robert Carr is now most likely to win the prince’s affection, and doth it wondrously, in a little time. The prince leaneth on his arm, pinches his cheek, smoothes his ruffled garment, and when he looketh at Carr, directeth discourse to divers others. This young man doth much study all art and device; he hath changed his tailors and tiremen many times, and all to please the prince, who laughed at the long grown fashion of our young courtiers, and wisheth for change every day. You must see Carr before you go to the king, as he was with him a boy in Scotland, and knoweth his taste, and what pleaseth. In your discourse you must not dwell

too long on any one subject, and touch but lightly on religion. A.D. 1611.
Do not of yourself say, "This is good or bad," but, "if it were your majesty's good opinion, I myself should think so and so." Ask no more questions than what may serve to know the prince's thought. In private discourse the king seldom speaketh of any man's temper, discretion, or good virtues; so meddle not at all, but find out a clue to guide you to the heart and most delightful subjects of his mind. I will advise one thing,—the roan jennet, whereon the king rideth every day, must not be forgotten to be praised; and the good furniture above all, which lost a great man much notice the other day. A noble did come in suit of a place, and saw the king mounting the roan, delivered his petition, which was heeded and read, but no answer was given. The noble departed, and came to court the next day, and got no answer again. The lord treasurer was then pressed to move the king's pleasure touching the petition. When the king was asked for answer thereto, he said, in some wrath, "Shall a king give heed to a dirty paper, when a beggar noteth not his gilt stirrups?" Now it fell out that the king had new furniture when the noble saw him in the court-yard; but he was overcharged with confusion, and passed by admiring the dressing of the horse: thus, good knight, our noble failed in his suit. I could relate and offer some other remarks on these matters, but silence and discretion should be linked together. You have lived to see the trim of old times, and what passed in the queen's days: these things are no more the same. Your queen did talk of her subjects' love and good affections, and in good truth she aimed well; our king talketh of his subjects' fear and subjection, and herein I think he doth well too, as long as it holdeth good.

Carr hath all favours, as I told you before; the king teacheth him Latin every morning, and I think some one should teach him English too; for, as he is a Scottish lad, he hath much need of better language. The king doth much covet his presence; the ladies, too, are not behindhand in their admiration: for I tell you, good knight, this fellow is straight-limbed, well-favoured, strong shouldered, and smoothfaced, with some sort of cunning and shew of modesty; though, God wot, he well knoweth when to shew his impudence. You are not young, you are not hand-

A.D. 1611. some, you are not finely; and yet will you come to court, and think to be well favoured? Why, I say again, good knight, that your learning may somewhat prove worthy hereunto; your Latin, and your Greek, your Italian, your Spanish tongues, your wit and discretion, may be well looked unto for a while, as strangers at such a place; but these are not the things men live by now-a-days. Will you say the moon shineth all the summer? that the stars are bright jewels fit for Carr's ears? that the roan jennet surpasseth Bucephalus, and is worthy to be bestridden by Alexander? that his eyes are fire, his tail is Berenice's locks, and a few more such fancies worthy your noticing? Your lady is virtuous, and somewhat of a good housewife, has lived in a court in her time, and I believe you may venture her forth again; but I know those would not quietly rest, were Carr to leer on their wives, as some do perceive, yea, and like it well too they should be so noticed. If any mischance be to be wished, 'tis breaking a leg in the king's presence; for this fellow owes all his favour to that bout. I think he hath better reason to speak well of his own horse than the king's roan jennet. We are almost worn out in our endeavours to keep pace with this fellow in his duty and labour to gain favour, but all in vain: where it endeth I cannot guess; but honours are talked of speedily for him. I trust this by my own son, that no danger may happen from our freedoms. If you come here, God speed your ploughing at the court; I know you do it rarely at home. So adieu my good knight, and I will always write me

Your truly loving old friend, T. HOWARD.

This noted favourite, the object of such sprightly ridicule and unmanly adulation, had already received an ample grant of lands, the confiscated property of the unfortunate Sir Walter Raleigh. He was now, upon the 25th of March, created Viscount Rochester, with the additional free gift of £5000, to which were added £15,000 in the ensuing year. No suit prospered that was not favoured by his smile—no petition accepted that passed not through his hands. The favourite

might have been less obnoxious, if he had found any pleasure A.D. 1612.
in rendering disinterested services ; but his venality equalled his vanity and arrogance. He had the presumption to cross Prince Henry in one of his favourite designs ; and when, in 1612, that amiable and accomplished youth yielded to the sudden stroke of death, he shone, till the period of his obscuration, absolutely without a peer.

The decease of Prince Henry, that “darling of the people,” was shortly followed by the death of Sir William Russell, whose sole attraction to the degenerate court appears to have been the pleasure of contemplating the heroic virtues of a prince from whom so much was fondly anticipated by the nation. On his creation as Prince of Wales, Sir William, together with the Earl of Bedford, are specified amongst the attendant nobility who added state to the ceremony. He figured also amongst the barons in the funeral procession of the prince, which is the last public notice of him that we meet with. Full particulars, however, of his last illness are furnished by his chaplain, Mr. Walker, who knew him intimately, and honoured him entirely. Sickening at his seat at Northall, in February, 1613, the Christian preparations which he made for his last serious conflict are more instructive than many homilies, and more truly glorious to his memory than the previous recital of his earthly victories and battles.

From the commencement of his illness, he was earnestly engaged in attaining that happy resignation which looks calmly upon the chance of either life or death, dedicating the day to almost continual prayer, or conference on heavenly things. And though from the first he was willing to contemplate the close of every earthly prospect, yet as his weakness increased, and with it the exercises of his heart, the fervour

A.D. 1613. of his prayers and sighs, the liveliness, and even cheerfulness, with which he contrasted the joys of heaven with the miseries of earth, attested an increased devotedness, till at length he would frequently and earnestly declare his desire to be dissolved, and be with Christ. Several days before his departure, as though receiving in himself the sentence of death, he stated, in counteraction of the hopes expressed by his attendants, that his glass was almost run. The third day previous to his dissolution, he rose before sunrise from his bed, although in great debility, caused himself to be apparelled, having eagerly desired to receive the sacrament, and spent three or four hours in preparation for the rite by prayer and conversation with his chaplain. When he came to communicate, after avowing his sincere forgiveness of all wrongs and offences, he took the elements, and, with eyes and hands lifted up to heaven, testified that as truly as he received them did he believe; that by the hand of faith he did receive and apply Christ with all his merits to be wholly his; imploring an increase of his faith, an increase of his sense of union and communion with Christ, and grace that he might thankfully remember the passion of his Saviour: uttering the whole with a pathetic simplicity of eloquence that moved to tears the other honourable persons who were associated with him in the sacred engagement.

He was afterwards permitted to be troubled with severe internal conflict, that sense of spiritual desertion and interruption of his former feeling of reconciliation and assurance which is often suffered to attend the accepted and the purified, for the trial of that faith which is pronounced to be so precious; the adversary setting vividly before him the weight of his past sins, and the greatness of God's judgments. So that now he began to doubt whether his faith were true, his

repentance sincere, and whether he were actually loved of A.D. 1613. God or not, “pouring out,” says the narrator, “continual groans, sighs, and earnest prayers, with incredible hungering and thirsting for the grace and mercy of God in the Redeemer; and repeatedly protesting that sin was grown so hateful to him, that he would not again commit the least of those that in his youth he had made light account of, to gain the greatest monarchy on earth. His spiritual comforter desired him, if he were troubled in conscience with any special sin, to impart it to some intimate friend, who might assist him with the comfort of his counsel and the efficacy of his prayers.” Leaving him for this purpose with his son alone, he retired to an adjoining gallery, which was not so distant from the room but that he could hear the affectionate intercessions and consolations offered by his son, who brought to his support the various promises of Scripture, which in an hour like that come often fraught with peace, and “the fulness of the blessings of the Gospel of salvation.” On rejoining him, he could not learn that any transgression in particular pressed upon the sufferer’s mind; yet he acknowledged, before all his servants, the deep regret he felt for the oaths, the quarrels, the too high prizing of himself, and the profanation of the Sabbath, which had stained his younger days. He complained deeply of that deadness and lethargy of heart that repented not as it should do, and of the want of faith with which he was so sorely tried. By various arguments and Scripture applications, his friend and pastor endeavoured to console him, and with some success; yet he was still occasionally troubled with doubts and apprehensions, and the continuing absence of that happy satisfaction which he had before tasted and enjoyed.

But at length, as the consummating hour drew nigh,

A.D. 1613. the clouds that had eclipsed his soul were mercifully cleared away; the tempter and temptation vanished; and he was afresh sustained and cheered by the revival of the encouraging assurance, "To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne." And invoking, in his last need, that power through which alone the victory is won, he cried perpetually, whilst speech was granted him, "Lord, strengthen me in this last battle! Lord, fortify me against all temptation! Lord, loose my soul out of the prison of this body! Sweet Saviour, send thine holy angels to fetch my soul, and carry it into Abraham's bosom. Lord, receive my spirit! Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit!" "And this was the last sentence that he uttered with his tongue. And after his speech failed him, yet did he," says his chaplain, "understand and hear us perfectly, giving us divers times signs that he continued full of comfort in the sense and assurance of God's favour, wringing my hand, and lifting up both eyes and hands when he felt any comfort by our words to him, or prayers for him. Thus did he die in the words of piety and prayer, moving his dying lips in prayer, and his half-dead hands, as Paulinus writes Saint Ambrose did, when his speech was gone. This was the manner of the loosing, or, to speak more properly, of the assumption of this Christian lord: thus did his soul depart and fly from us, carried, no doubt, by the angels into Abraham's bosom, where it rests with Christ in eternal glory."¹ He died upon the 9th of March, and was interred upon the 16th, at Thornhaugh, in the parish-church of which his monument is seen: thus surviving his wife but two years; whose close, as we learn from the inscription on her tomb in the parish-church

¹ Funeral Sermon.

of Watford, was equally marked by peace and resignation. A.D. 1613. "Passing," it declares, "the few and evil days of her pilgrimage here in this vale of tears, in the often meditation of death; and thereby having learned to number her days, this noble lady did apply her heart to wisdom, as appeareth by many holy meditations and religious observations which she in the course of hearing and private reading of the Holy Scriptures had conceived, and for her own use and comfort, under her own hand, committed to writing; and being now grown weary of the vanity and vexation of this present life, by the instinct of God's good spirit, whereby she was fully assured of his love and promises in Jesus, desired to be dissolved and to be with Christ. And having lived religiously, virtuously, and honourably forty-three years, and of them seven-and-twenty in holy and unspotted wedlock, having issue only Sir Francis Russell, knight, in the invocation of God's holy name, quietly and sweetly slept in the Lord the 12th day of June, 1611."

Full-length portraits of both these personages exist at Woburn; the lady represented with large sleeves,¹ and her baron in a black slashed suit, with a large ruff, a walking-stick in his right hand, his left resting on the pommel of his sword, and a favourite dog beside him.

The Countess of Cumberland, as she was the youngest, so she thus became the survivor, for a few years, of all her father's family. Her remaining history may here find an appropriate place.

On the 30th of October, 1605, her husband had died in the Duchy-house of the Savoy. She and her daughter were

¹ It was, doubtless, this Lady Russell of whom Lady Fairfax speaks in her Memoirs, as appearing with large sleeves in the singular dream which she recounts.

A.D. 1613. attendant on him during his illness, which brought with it some serious and compunctious feelings for his past domestic errors, and with them an entire reconciliation with those whom his previous indifference had estranged. His testamentary dispositions have been already mentioned; but before his decease, he expressed with much affection to his wife and child a strong impression that his brother would die without male issue, and his daughter thereby become the sole possessor of his lands—a presentiment which was realised in 1643. “George, Earl of Cumberland,” Dr. Whitaker observes, “was a great, but unamiable man. His story admirably illustrates the difference between greatness and contentment—between fame and virtue. If we trace him in the public history of his times, we see nothing but the accomplished courtier, the skilful navigator, the intrepid commander, the disinterested patriot;¹ but if we follow him into his family, we are instantly struck with the indifferent and unfaithful husband, the negligent and thoughtless parent. If we enter his muniment room, we are surrounded by memorials of prodigality, mortgages, and sales, inquietude, and approaching want; for he set out with a larger estate than any of his ancestors, and in little more than twenty years he made it one of the least.” His death may have excited that natural regret which few can avoid feeling towards those with whom, though under painful circumstances, they may have been intimately connected; but it entailed both on the mother and daughter a long

¹ His more popular qualities appear to have captivated Spenser’s fancy, who cites him in one of his sonnets as a personification of the ancient heroism :

Redoubted lord ! in whose courageous mind
The flower of chivalry now blooming fair,
Doth promise fruit worthy the noble kind
Which of their praises have left you the heir ! &c.

series of disputes and troubles, of which the Lady Anne A.D. 1613. Clifford may prove the best narrator.

“ Presently after the death of my father, I being left his sole daughter and heir, my dear mother, out of her affectionate care for my good, caused me to choose her my guardian, and then in my name began to sue out a livery in the Court of Wards for my right to all my father’s lands, by way of prevention to the livery which my uncle of Cumberland intended to sue out in my name, without either my consent or my mother’s, which caused great suits of law to arise between her and my uncle, which in effect continued, for one cause or other, during her life, in which she shewed a most brave spirit, and never yielded to any opposition whatsoever. In which business King James began to shew himself extremely against my mother and me; in which course he still pursued, though his wife Queen Anne was ever inclining to our part, and very gracious and favourable unto us; for in my youth I was much in the court with her, and in masques attended, though I never served her.

“ So about the 9th of June, in 1607, (to shew how much he was bent against my blessed mother and myself), he gave the reversion of all those lands in Westmoreland and Craven out of the crown, by patent to my uncle Francis, and to his heirs for ever, after they had continued in the crown from the time they were given by King John and King Edward the Second to my ancestors, till after the death of my father, except some few times of attainder, which were still restored again, the last restoration being in the first year of King Henry the Seventh, the grant of which to my uncle was done merely to defeat me, as hoping to get my hand to release it to the heirs male. But after, by the providence of God, it turned to the best for me; for if this patent had

A.D. 1613. not been granted out of the crown, I should not have had that power, which now I have, to dispose of my lands to whomsoever I please."

It was in reference to the patient equanimity and unbending resolution of that spirit, "strong as beechwood in the blast," with which the Countess of Cumberland braved this new array of opposition, that the poet Daniel speaks in one of his epistles to her.

The same poet has also, with a happy propriety, dedicated to the countess, his "Epistle from Octavia to Marc Anthony," one of his best compositions, both for harmony and pathos; and the energy and feeling which pervade it may not unsuitably be ascribed to his sympathy with her domestic sorrows, which formed so exact a counterpart to those which he ascribes to the sister of Augustus.¹

Her daughter had now reached the age of eighteen, and the subject of her future connexions began to occupy the anxious thoughts of the countess. It was whispered in the court circles that Sir Robert Carr aspired to the honour of

¹ He inscribes it to her with the following sonnet:—

*To the Right Honourable and most virtuous Lady, the Lady Margaret,
Countess of Cumberland.*

Although the meaner sort — whose thoughts are placed
As in another region, far below
The sphere of greatness — cannot rightly taste
What touch it hath, nor right her passions know;
Yet have I here adventured to bestow
Words upon grief, as my griefs comprehend,
And made this great afflicted lady shew,
Out of my feelings, what she might have penned:
And here the same I bring forth, to attend
Upon thy reverent name, to live with thee,
Most virtuous lady! that vouchsaf'st to lend
Ear to my notes, and comfort unto me,
That one day may thine own fair virtues spread,
Being secretary now but to the dead.

her hand ; but her preceptor has drawn too beautiful a picture A.D. 1609.
of her mental purity and moral culture,¹ to induce us to believe
that either she or the countess for a moment favoured his
advances. A more promising suitor presented himself, in
the person of Richard Sackville, heir-apparent of the second
Earl of Dorset ; and their marriage was celebrated on the 27th
of February, 1608-9. The picture which Lady Anne, in her
after-years, draws of herself at this precise period, is too curious
to be omitted. “ I was very happy,” she says, “ in my first
constitution, both in mind and body, both for internal and
external endowments ; for never was there child more equally
resembling both father and mother than myself. The colour
of mine eyes was black like my father’s, and the form and
aspect of them was quick and lively, like my mother’s ; the
hair of my head was brown and very thick, and so long,
that it reached to the calf of my legs when I stood upright,
with a peak of hair on my forehead, and a dimple in my
chin, like my father ; full cheeks and round face, like my
mother, and an exquisite shape of body, resembling my
father : but now time and age have long since ended all
those beauties, which are to be compared to the grass of the
field ; for now, when I have caused these memorables of
myself to be written, I have passed the sixty-third year of
my age. And, though I say it, the perfections of my mind
were much above those of my body. I had a strong and
copious memory, a sound judgment, and a discerning spirit,
and so much of a strong imagination in me, as that many
times even my dreams and apprehensions beforehand proved
to be true ; so that old Mr. John Denham, a great astro-

¹ Unto the tender youth of those fair eyes
The light of judgment can arise but new, &c.

A.D. 1616. nomer that sometime lived in my father's house, would often say, that I had much in me in nature to shew that the sweet influences of the Pleiads and the bands of Orion, mentioned in Job, were powerful both at my conception and nativity! And my mother did with singular care and tenderness of affection educate me, as her most dear and only daughter, seasoning my youth with the grounds of true religion and moral virtue, and all other qualities befitting my birth. In which she employed, as her chief agent, Mr. Samuel Daniel, that religious and honest poet, who composed 'The Civil Wars of England between the two Houses of York and Lancaster,' and also writ many other treatises, both in prose and verse. I was not admitted to learn any language, because my father would not permit it; but for all other knowledge fit for my sex, none was bred up to greater perfection than myself. Thus from my childhood, by the bringing up of my dear mother, I did, as it were, even suck the milk of goodness; which made my mind grow strong against the storms of fortune, which few avoid that are greatly born and matched, if they attain to any number of years, unless they betake themselves to a private retiredness, which I could never do, till after the death of both my husbands."

But two days after her marriage, an event occurred that placed her in a sphere equal to her talents and desert: the father of her husband died, and she became Countess of Dorset. We leave to the same interesting annalist the recital of her mother's latter days.

"Upon the 2d of April, 1616, I took my last leave of my dear and blessed mother, with many tears and much sorrow to us both, some quarter of a mile from Brougham

Castle, in the open air,¹ after which time she and I never A.D. 1616.
saw one another; for then I went away out of Westmoreland to London, and so to Knowle House in Kent. A little before her death, when she was in some doubt and fear that through strength of power her daughter's ancient inheritance might be wrested from her, she would often say, to comfort her heart, 'The earth is the Lord's, and all that therein is.' In the month following, that blessed mother of mine died, to my unspeakable grief, myself at the time of her death being in Kent; but a little after, I went down into Westmoreland, and was present at her burial in Appleby church, the 11th of July following: the remembrance of whose sweet and excellent virtues hath been the chief companion of my thoughts, ever since she departed out of this world. Rev. xiv. 13. She died, this blessed lady, Christianly and willingly, the 24th day of May, being Friday, about seven o'clock in the evening, in 1616, in the same chamber in Brougham Castle wherein her husband was born, being about fifty-six years old. She often repeated these words a little before her death, 'that she desired to be dissolved, and to be with our Saviour Christ Jesus, in the heavenly Jerusalem.'

"She was a woman who had more truth, justice, and constancy in her heart, than can be expressed by words. She was full of noble, kind, and sweet affections towards her kindred and friends, and of a grateful mind to those that in any wise deserved it from her; and of a most compassionate nature to any whom she knew to be in misery and distress; which caused a great divine, that knew her very well, to say of her, that she was like the seraphim, in her ardent love

¹ The beautiful verses of Mr. Rogers, on the Pillar raised near Brougham Castle to commemorate "the silent sorrows of this parting hour," must be familiar to every one.

A.D. 1612. and affection towards the most Divine Trinity, towards all goodness and good folks; and that she had the virtue of compassion in her in more perfection than any he ever knew. And therefore he thought it much more happiness to be descended from so blessed a woman, than to be born heir to a great kingdom. For as gold is tried in the fire, so were her virtues tried in the unkindnesses, sorrows, and misfortunes of this life; and that her spirit might justly have the attributes of clear and excellent; to which he would add, that even to those that outlived her the life of her spirit should be known, according to the saying of Isaiah, xxxviii. 16. And indeed the numerousness of my posterity, and all other benefits whatsoever, I do believe were bestowed upon me for the heavenly goodness of my dear mother, whose fervent prayers were offered up with great zeal to Almighty God for me and mine, and had such a return of blessings followed them as that, though I met with some bitter and wicked enemies and many great oppositions in the world, yet were my deliverances so great, as could not occur to any that were not visibly sustained by a Divine favour from above. Psalm lxi.”¹

In the meanwhile, a serious and sudden stroke had threatened too early to extinguish the career of her who had so long sparkled with the other stars of beauty in the moving hemisphere of fashion. “Last night,” writes the Earl of Dorset to Sir Thomas Edmonds, in November 1612, “my

¹ There is one portrait of the Countess of Cumberland at Woburn Abbey, habited in black, painted apparently before her marriage; a second at Gorbambury, representing her later in life, in a black dress set with pearls, and a feather falling across her hair, and in a corner the arms of Clifford and Russell, which Pennant has had engraved in his “Tour from Chester to London;” and at Skipton Castle is a third, more curious than either, with her husband and two sons in the same picture; an engraving of which is given by Dr. Whitaker, in his interesting “History of Craven.”

Lady Bedford was suddenly seized with an alarming illness, A.D. 1613. and has ever since continued speechless. She is past all hopes, though yet alive. And even now my wife is gone to see her, who desires to be excused for this time that she writes not to your lady, she is so full of sorrow, and unfit.”¹ Of the nature of the attack we are left uninformed; but, to the joy of those who took so painful an interest in the result, the countess unexpectedly revived; and by the 14th of February, in the new year, had regained so much of her usual health and vigour as to take that station at the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth which her rank prescribed, and which the familiar intimacy she had cultivated with the lovely bride in the paternal precincts of Combe Abbey, rendered a more than usually pleasing duty. She appeared in the magnificent procession, robed, like the rest of the attendant married countesses, in white satin, rich with brodered work, and glittering with pearls and precious stones. Her father preceded the beautiful young bride to chapel, the Lady Harrington following after. Between them, supported by Prince Charles and Lord Northampton, moved the bride, refulgent as a heroine of old romance, a crown of glowing gold upon her head, “made imperial by the pearls and diamonds placed thereon, which were so thick beset, that they stood like shining pinnacles upon her amber-coloured hair:” this, plaited at intervals, floated at length over her shoulders to her waist; “and between every plait was a roll of golden spangles, pearls, rich stones, and diamonds;” and withal so many diamonds of inestimable value embroidered on her sleeves “as even dazzled and amazed the eyes of the beholders.” Her train was borne by sixteen

¹ Birch MSS. No. 4176. Letter, November 23d.

A.D. 1613. ladies in white satin ; and a troop of virgin bridemaids, all noblemen's daughters, followed in their wake. In brave embroidered garments flourished over with pearl, a train of handsome knights succeeded, the sons of powerful courtiers ; heralds in their coats of heraldry ; earls, lords and barons, in their richest state array ; the king of heralds, shouldering his golden mace ; bishops in their sacerdotal robes ; the king in a sumptuous black suit, and a gorgeous diamond in his hat ; the queen in white satin, dusted over with diamonds ; and lastly, the queen's ladies, a cluster of fair countesses (over whom the Lady Bedford might seem in fancy to preside), adding grace and glory to all that went before. The imagination of those who make mention of the scene, and of the festivities that followed, appears to bend beneath the weight of the pomp and prodigality displayed, and as though they thought,

“ That to narrate the whole would be, in sooth,
To give mute wonder wing, and wed romance to truth.”

The Palsgrave was very bounteous to all the previous officers and servants of the bride, the Lord and Lady Harrington receiving in golden and gilt plate to the value of two thousand pounds, their servants four hundred pounds, and the rest in due proportion. They were both in the suite that accompanied the young couple into Germany ; and it was no small solace to the princess, in departing for that foreign country to reside amidst a people whose genius, customs, and language, were altogether strange to her,—that she had their experience to guide, and their endeared society to cheer and to sustain her. For, averse to all intrigue, and equally unambitious, though so recently ennobled, Lord Harrington might justly be considered as a true repre-

sentative of the highest order of the old English gentry, A.D. 1614. uniting to much personal dignity great mental independence, and a spirit of devoted loyalty to the most clear integrity; whilst his lady, with more pretensions to shine than her unassuming consort, possessed all the modest and noble virtues that adorn the character of the British matron.¹ The journey of the bride through the continental cities to the Rhine resembled rather, says her biographer, a victorious march than a bridal tour. Wherever she came, she was greeted with admiring homage, and a round of courtly entertainments; so that it was near the middle of June before she entered the picturesque valley and romantic towers of Heidelberg, where she passed her first six happy years of wedded life, till the too active ambition and misfortunes of her husband threw their shades over the charming picture. Their mission thus accomplished, Lord and Lady Harrington bade a tender farewell to their accomplished pupil; and in August set out on their return, being desirous to reach England before their son should take possession of his government of Guernsey, which he had lately obtained by an exchange of the reversion formerly granted him of a mastership in the King's Bench.² But they had no sooner reached Wormes than the former was attacked with an illness, which, to the great grief of his family, terminated his existence. His excellent son survived him but a few months, dying on the 27th of February, 1614: both, says Fuller "signally eminent, the one a pattern for all good fathers, the other for all gracious sons." In addition to these domestic calamities, before another year had passed, Lady Bedford had to mourn the loss of her only sister, Frances, Lady Chichester. The hearse of each of

¹ Miss Benger. *Memoirs of the Queen of Bohemia.*

² Birch MSS. No. 4176. Mr. Larkin to Sir T. Puckering, Aug. 12, 1613.

A.D. 1614. these three personages was honoured with “melodious tears;” the virtues of Lord Harrington the elder being commemorated in Latin verse by Holland, and those of the two latter by the subtle muse of Dr. Donne. A magnificent monument of touchstone and white marble, erected to their honour by Nicholas Stone, the ablest statuary of his time, at the expense of more than a thousand pounds, testifies the countess’s reverence for their memory, and devotion to the fine arts.¹ She became by these events sole possessor of the family estates, which were very considerable, her brother “giving all he had to her, defeating her neither of the land nor barony, esteeming her worthy of much more than he had to leave her.”²

The Lord Rochester, created Earl of Somerset previous to his inauspicious marriage with the divorced daughter of the Earl of Suffolk, had now passed his meridian of favour, and was fast declining into shade. To the people he had become an object of dislike, by the revolting proceedings connected with this marriage; and he had rendered himself odious to the chief nobility and courtiers, by his arrogant demeanour and repeated insolencies. To disenchant the king of his fancy for the favourite, was judged to be no easy task; yet a scheme for this purpose was devised by the Russell and Herbert, the Hertford and the Pembroke families, at a sumptuous private entertainment given by the latter at Baynard’s Castle. On their way thither, the first open manifestation of contempt was ventured against Somerset; for, passing by a painter’s stall in Fleet Street at which his picture was hung out, one of the lords commanded his foot-

¹ Stone’s Diary, in Walpole’s “Lives of the Painters, &c.” Major’s edition, vol. ii. p. 58.

² Narrative of the first Fourteen Years of King James: Somers’ Tracts, vol. ii. p. 294.

man to bespatter the face with dirt, which was done, to the A.D. 1614.
no small surprise of the gentlemen who were not in the secret confederacy. One of them required the reason, and was told that that night's meeting would discover.¹ The plan on which the party fixed (to use the expression of one engaged in it) was "to drive out one nail by another"—to introduce some rival favourite, to whose supremacy all their interest and influence should conjointly be directed. The choice fell upon George Villiers, then recently returned from France, and altogether unsettled in his plans for future life, whose engaging person was set off by every winning accomplishment which they judged likely to captivate a monarch so fascinated with exterior grace as James had proved himself to be. In pursuance of this scheme, Sir Thomas Lake first threw him in the king's way when at Apthorpe; James was struck with his bearing and fine figure. The Countess of Bedford confirmed this prepossession by ushering him into the presence-chamber,² where his elegant address completed the captivation. The office of cupbearer was first obtained for him, in which capacity the Earl of Pembroke and others supported him against all opposition, till his fortune as supreme favourite was no longer doubtful. Efforts were next made by Lady Bedford to enter him of the bedchamber, which Somerset resisted with all the energy of jealousy and despair. The king, too, hesitated, requiring, for some domestic reasons, that the queen herself should be first induced to become a suitor for the grant. When a fresh difficulty rose in this high quarter, the aid and credit of Archbishop Abbot were called in. He willingly undertook to try his own persuasions with the rest. Their importunity

¹ Aulus Coquin. in Weldon and Osborne's Secret Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 261.

² Lloyd's State Worthies, vol. ii. p. 156.

A.D. 1617. prevailed; Queen Anne undertook to press the suit with her husband; and on the 23d of April, 1615, Villiers was sworn of the privy chamber, with an annual pension of one thousand pounds, and was next day knighted in the queen's chamber. Thus rose the man with the fame of whose influence and many-coloured character Europe afterwards resounded; and before the end of the year the Earl of Somerset's disgrace was completed by those accusations and that trial which have stamped his name with ignominy.

A few other scattered notices of the Countess of Bedford occur in the correspondence of the court, which more or less reflect an image of its manners. "The French ambassador," says Mr. Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, February 22, 1617, "together with his company, was feasted at Whitehall on Sunday, and yesterday at Theobald's; and last night had a great supper at the lord mayor's. The Duke of Lennox feasted him before the king; and this night he is solemnly invited by the Lord Hay to the wardrobe, to a supper and a masque where the Countess of Bedford is to be lady and mistress of the feast, as she is of the managing of his love to the Earl of Northumberland's youngest daughter (Lady Lucy Percy), with whom he is far engaged in affection, and finds such acceptance both at her hands and her mother's, that it is thought it will prove a match. Again, upon the 15th of March, "there were two christenings in the chapel at Whitehall this week; the first on Tuesday, March 11th, of a son of the Lord Haddington's, where the king, the Earl of Southampton, and the Countess of Bedford, were gossips; the other on Thursday, the 13th, of a son of the Lady Fielding, sister of the Earl of Buckingham, who was partner with the king and the same Lady of Bedford in that business."

It required all the countess's address and skill to bring

the aforesaid alliance to bear, as it was ill approved by Lord Northumberland, chiefly perhaps from its having been previously recommended by the Countess of Somerset. The suitor “used all possible means to abate his discontent, and to have the 20,000*l.* promised to her on condition she would be ruled by him.” His reluctant consent appears at last to have been obtained, but not his good-will, as he remained greatly incensed against his daughter. The king, however, engaged to give away the bride; and though the portion might be missed, it could not greatly affect one who had partaken so liberally of the monarch’s bounty as Lord Hay, to judge by his liberal expenditure, which constituted him a personification, as it were, of the astonishing profusion that prevailed during this reign. A.D. 1619.

The marriage was solemnised upon the 4th of November, the king and prince honouring the wedding-supper with their presence. In the following year, the bridegroom was created Viscount Doncaster. His first child by this marriage did not long survive its birth; but James, the second, lived to succeed him in his subsequently conferred earldom of Carlisle, and allied himself by marriage to a daughter of the succeeding Earl of Bedford.

In the January of 1619, we find Lady Bedford assistant in another project for the happiness of two youthful lovers. The only son of Sir Robert Smith¹ and Lady Isabella Rich, daughter of Robert, Earl of Warwick, by a sister of the unfortunate Earl of Essex, “finding themselves,” says our authority, “together for a few days at Sir — Udal’s; and liking well each other, my lord chamberlain,² who was

¹ Sir John Smith, of Sutton-at-Hone and Bocerne, Kent.

² William, Earl of Pembroke.

A.D. 1619. there present, to make the matter sure, sent to Bainard Castle for his own chaplain, who making some difficulty for that they had no license, his lordship encouraged him, upon assurance of saving him harmless. So they were presently married, and from thence conducted to my Lord of Southampton's to dinner, and to my Lady Bedford's to repose; but the father is a heavy man to see his son bestowed without his knowledge and consent."¹ No sooner was this match completed than we find the countess projecting another, between her niece, Miss Chichester, and a son of the Marquess of Hamilton, to whom she was content to pass over all the land of her late brother, reserving only to herself one of the estates for life.² The treaty took effect, and she waited but her mother's return from a visit to the Palsgrave's court to have the nuptials celebrated.³ But in the meantime, she had to lament the loss of her royal mistress, Anne of Denmark, at whose funeral she acted as one of the assistant mourners, Francis, Baron Thornhaugh, and his lady, with a large attendance of other nobles, preceding the coffin to its last earthly home. When the melancholy obsequies were fulfilled, she went to Dover to meet her mother; but hearing, when she reached the seaside, that Lady Harrington was suffering under a serious sickness, she passed over to Calais,⁴ where she was remaining. Her assiduities soon led to the restoration of the patient; and on the 28th they were welcomed home to the metropolis. But the anxieties and exertions consequent upon these events and the nuptial festivities that followed, brought on a lingering fever, which, settling in the eye of the fair countess, threatened for awhile

¹ Birch MSS. No. 4176. T. Larkin to Sir T. Puckering. Jan. 5, 1619.

² *Ib.* Jan. 5, 1618-9. ³ *Ib.* Feb. 23, 1618-9. ⁴ *Ib.* May 24, 1619.

the extinction of that visual orb¹ which, in the language of A.D. 1619. one of her poetical admirers, was accustomed, like Aurora's from her chariot, to scatter morning on the mists of night. The decease of the queen leading naturally to a reduction of the royal household, the countess—after sixteen years' attendance on, and attachment to, her person, during which she was identified more than any other lady with her amusements, tastes, and movements—retired to her private villa.

She had resided chiefly, since 1608, when away from court, at Twickenham Park, formerly the seat of Sir Francis Bacon, a spot long consecrated as the favourite retreat of the scholar, the poet, and the statesman; and even at this early period hallowed by similar associations. It was here that she received the more familiar visits of the gay, the busy, and the enterprising of her time, that she gathered wisdom and enjoyment from her hours of lettered ease, and found in the society of the poets whose productions she admired, and whose labours she munificently encouraged, a happy relief from the distractions and intrigues of court. Entering into their pursuits with a congenial feeling and enthusiasm, she became the trusted depository of their various anxieties and hopes, and the flattered object of many a grateful canzonet. All concur in acknowledging her taste and learning. Of the minor poets, White dedicated his *Masque of "Cupid's Banishment"* to her, and May his *Lucan*; and the brighter pages of Donne, and Daniel, and Jonson, still preserve some ever-green memorials of her, though flourishing, it must be confessed, with very various beauty.

¹ "My Lady Bedford is well recovered, only she hath a pin and web in one of her eyes, so that she doth not yet go abroad. She will hardly escape the loss of her eye." Letters of the Earl of Carlisle, July 9 and August 29, 1619. Birch MSS. No. 4176.

A.D. 1619. The first had sought for popularity in the maze of metaphysics, to wed the Muses “to an exiled lot,” amidst the dust and webs, the pedantry and pride of old scholastic subtlety. He forsook nature and tenderness, the genuine springs of interest, for fine-spun sentiment and far-fetched illustration; and in treating of a subject, endeavoured less to recommend it to the sympathy of others, than to attract attention to his own dexterity. Hence his addresses to the countess, when they seek to be commendatory, strike, like the writings of those Spanish poets whom he appears to have taken for his prototypes, into the track of boundless compliment and extravagant conceit. The second had much more sobriety, elegance, and taste; he sought for models in a purer school, as the introduction into his writings of many translated passages of Tasso, and his noble version of Guarini’s “Ode on Honour,” sufficiently evince. From the Italian poets he derived a more varied and melodious versification; and his advantage in this respect, when contrasted with the uncouth ruggedness of Donne, is not more obvious than his high superiority in feeling, and in natural simplicity of expression and sentiment. Yet, with but little absolute fire in his highest class of compositions, he often sinks, in more familiar ones, into feebleness and poverty of language; and his addresses to the countess are, on this account, principally interesting to us from the allusions which they contain to her pursuits in knowledge.

But the muse of Jonson was deficient neither in sweetness, tenderness, nor fire; and his heart, his fancy, and his judgment, whenever he took for his theme the obliging dispositions and personal attractions of the countess, were alike stirred up, and pressed “to her sweet service.” In presenting her with a copy of Donne’s Satires, he accompanied

them with those verses, flattering alike to the poet and the lady, which commence

“ Lucy ! you brightness of our sphere, which are
Like of the Muses’ day, their morning star ! ”

But when, as in the following, he essays exclusively to picture forth his estimation of the countess, his whole language brightens into grace and beauty.

TO THE COUNTESS OF BEDFORD.

This morning, timely rapt with holy fire,
I thought to form unto my zealous muse
What kind of creature I could most desire
To honour, serve, and love, as poets use.
I meant to make her fair, and free, and wise,
Of greatest blood, and yet more good than great,—
I meant the day-star should not brighter rise,
Nor lend like influence from his lucent seat.
I meant she should be courteous, facile, sweet,
Hating that solemn vice of greatness, pride ;
I meant each softest virtue there should meet,
Fit in that softer bosom to reside.
Only a learned and a manly soul
I purposed her,—that should, with even powers,
The rock, the spindle, and the shears control
Of Destiny, and spin her own free hours.
Such when I meant to feign, and wish to see,
The muse bade, ‘ Bedford write,’ and that was she !

Amongst the various studies of the countess, it might plausibly be conjectured, from her love of the art, that she was herself an occasional cultivator of poetry ; and Donne, in one of his letters to her, makes evident allusion to the fact.¹

¹ TO THE COUNTESS OF BEDFORD.

Happiest and worthiest Lady !—I do not remember that ever I have seen a petition in verse ; I would not, therefore, be singular, nor add these to

A.D. 1619. It is singular that, with this decided bias and her own celebrity, so few fragments of her writings or correspondence should have descended to our times. The only specimens which we discover of the kind are two letters, of which the following, addressed to the Queen of Bohemia, was written upon occasion of Prince Charles's *début* in parliament, soon after his return from the secret expedition into Spain.

LUCY, COUNTESS OF BEDFORD, TO THE QUEEN OF BOHEMIA.

May it please your Majesty,—You have so many servants here at the present, who, I know, take care to give you an account of all parliamentary businesses worth the writing, as that I, who have but by second report the passages of both houses, should deserve rather blame than thanks of your majesty, to follow, with my imperfect relation, what you at the first hand receive from them, who are actors themselves in the great affairs now on the stage of this our world,—where none plays his part with so due applause as your excellent brother, who wins daily more and more upon the hearts of all good men; and hath begotten, by his princely and wise proceedings, such an opinion of his reality, judgment, and worthy intentions for the public good, that I think never prince was more powerful in the parliament-house than he. And there doth he express himself substantially so well, that he is often called up to

your other papers. I have yet adventured so near as to make a petition *for* verse: it is for those your ladyship did me the honour to read in Twickenham Gardens, except you repent your making (them), and have mended your judgment by thinking worse, that is better, because juster of their subject. They must needs be an excellent exercise of your wit, which speaks so well of so ill. I humbly beg them of your ladyship, with two such promises, as to any other of your compositions were threatenings, that I will not shew them, and that I will not belie them; and nothing should be so used that comes from your brain or breast. If I should confess a fault in the boldness of asking them, or make a fault by doing it in a longer letter, your ladyship might use your style and old fashion of the court towards me, and — pay me with a pardon. Here, therefore, I humbly kiss your ladyship's fair, learned hands, and wish you good wishes and speedy grants.

Your ladyship's servant,

JOHN DONNE.

speak, and he doth it with that satisfaction to both houses as is A.D. 1619.
 much admired. And he behaves himself with as much reverence
 to the houses, when either himself takes occasion to speak, or is
 chosen by them to do so unto the Lower House, as any other man
 who sits amongst them. And he will patiently bear contradictions,
 and calmly forego his own opinions, if he have been mistaken,
 which yet hath so seldom happened, as not above twice in all
 this time he hath had cause to approve of any other than his own.
 All which are so remarkable excellencies in a prince so young,
 so lately come to be himself, as I am sure the world hath not
 another to parallel with him. He is besides most diligent and
 indefatigable in businesses—a patient hearer, judicious in distin-
 guishing counsels, moderate in his actions, steady in his resolu-
 tions; so even as variableness is a thing neither in deed nor in
 appearance in him. And so civil and accomplished withal every
 way, both in mind and body, that, consider him even not as a
 prince (which yet adds much lustre to him), and there is nobody
 who must not acknowledge him to be a gentleman very full of
 perfections. And, without flattery, I know none to be compared
 with him; for his virtues and parts are eminent, without any
 mixture of vanity or vice.

I presume your majesty will not be displeased that I fill so
 much paper with this subject, upon which, when I fall, it is so
 much all our joys, and so great a part of your happiness to have
 such a brother, as I can never satisfy myself to have said enough.
 And, madam, give me leave to wish that you would in one letter,
 at least, take notice of what you hear of him from them who will
 neither flatter him nor dissemble with you; since there is nobody
 who doth well but is glad to hear thereof. And it is both a part
 of their recompense, and encouragement to them to persevere and
 strive for more and more glory, that such notice is taken of
 deserving praise, as may assure them they are greater gainers by
 that they do, than they are for how much soever blood or titles
 may enrich them with, above other men. It cannot fall so well from
 any pen as yours, who being in all respects so near him, may
 best, without fearing to make his modesty blush, or suspect, press
 his due upon him; in which I pray he may find the joy he gives

A.D. 1625. to others, and of which, though I am furthest removed from any hope of particular advantage, I have, for the general, so large a share as makes me, who am otherwise weary of life, glad that I have lived to see this proof of him; and to know beforehand, that if it please the Almighty God to continue to us this rare pledge of his Divine Majesty's not being yet weary of doing us good, your majesty shall have the blessing to be restored to what you have been by such an arm, as that it will be an honour equal to the benefit itself, if you may receive that good by him.

I am, Madam, &c. &c.

LUCY BEDFORD.¹

On the 27th of March, 1625, King James expired at his palace of Theobalds. In the autumn of that year, we find the Countess of Bedford actively engaged in promoting a treaty set on foot for the marriage of James, Lord Strange, the heir-apparent to the earldom of Derby, one of the most eminent of those various characters whom the eventful crisis that but too rapidly succeeded, called forth from the seclusion of domestic life into prominent and splendid notoriety. The following recently discovered letter from her to some nameless friend, cannot fail to be read with interest, referring, as it does, to one of the brightest ornaments of her age and sex, the Lady Charlotte de la Tremouille, better known as the heroic Countess of Derby—the invincible defender of Latham house.

Sir,—These enclosed letters will witness that I have not been unmindful to inquire what my Lord Strange's friends intended concerning the marriage spoken of for him in France; which I find to be so far advanced, as if Mad^{lle}. de Tremouille's friends be not overstrict in exacting conditions we are not accustomed to hear, it

¹ Collection of Letters, by Sir Tobie Matthews. London, 1660.

is as good as done. Mr. Matthias (who I think you know travelled A.D. 1625 with Lord Strange), if he have found a safe passage to the Hague, is now there, with as ample a commission to conclude all things as may be; and besides, my Lady of Derby hath absolutely given her sons, with a particular of the present state and possibilities of the house of Derby, to the Queen of Bohemia, to dispose of both in this match as she pleases, who extremely affects the good success thereof; and so, Sir Robert Carr tells me, doth our young queen, which hath drawn the king to wish it too,—so as I hope we shall shortly have those worthy ladies here. For if Mr. Matthias return with such an answer as is expected, the young lord will presently go over and solemnize the marriage there, who had been his own messenger, and was extreme earnest to have been so, but that his mother thought it fitter all other circumstances should first be determined on, lest, Madame de la Tremouille not liking our English way, nor those offers that can be made out of my Lord of Derby's estate, he might, and she too, have parted upon terms of some disadvantage.

I hear that my Lady of Derby's offers (to whom her lord wholly leaves both his children and affairs) are, that the portion Mad^{lle}. de la Tremouille brings, shall be, if so her friends desire, laid out in lands to be settled upon her and her children; or, for want of such, on her heirs, so as that the rent will be (neither) to my Lord Strange nor his house, if he have no children by her. For jointure, they propound the like that either of the two Countesses of Derby has, which, so much already being out in jointure, is a large proportion; and she is sure to be well provided, that shall have such an interest to boot in what she brings. For their present maintenance, I know not—for I forgot to ask—what my Lady of Derby offers; but am sure she will not be strait-handed in that, dealing so frankly in the rest; and having what this young lady brings, they will not want means to live like children of the houses they come of, till they be in possession of the earldom, the revenue whereof will daily better, being of unracked land, and no younger brothers' nor daughters' portions to be taken out of it, but two great jointures to come in, and no debt at all to trouble them. I doubt not but Madame de la Tremouille, being so wise a lady, will see the advantages of thus bestowing her daughter; and I think she cannot have

A.D. 1625 a better counsel given her than to meet my Lady of Derby half way in forwardness, that it may not depend. For if, because we on this side are so free, she — as is the disposition of some — should be the more reserved, and insist too curiously on over-large demands, she will mar what she would make, which I conceive is not her intention, being come so far on the occasion.

I send you Sir Robert Carr's letter to me, in confirmation of part of mine : when you have read it, I pray you throw it in the fire. I shall, within a day or two, write to the Queen of Bohemia some reasons why it will be best she set a full and speedy end to this, wherein she is so much trusted, and so great respect is shewed to her ; and you shall, I think, do *your* country people a very good office to quicken them, that they use no unnecessary delay, lest something come betwixt to cross what is like to prove so well for all parties.

This treaty hath brought into my thoughts another I should willingly enter into, and whereof I have had some speech with Sir Theodore Mayerne, which I have entreated him to impart unto you more particularly ; yet I will myself add, that considering the present condition of the House of Rohan, and the future danger of the whole party of the religion in France, I think it might be a happiness to Mad^{lle}. de Rohan, and of great use to her friends, if she were lodged in so noble a family, and where, I dare undertake, she would be honoured according to her merit. If her portion be such as a part of it may go to the clearing a debt which lies on that estate, whatsoever she hath more will not be required, but left to her own free disposing. If this will be hearkened unto, my Lord Chamberlain and I have such an interest in the father, as whatsoever we should undertake, he will make good, though himself were not acquainted with it ; notwithstanding which, if any from Madame de Rohan had commission to deal in it, we would presently send for him, who is all nobleness, discretion, and goodness.

If you taste this, I should be glad, as soon as you can, to have conference with you about it ; for many points touching it that are not to be discoursed by letter, your judgment, I doubt not, will easily take hold of. Many I forbear here to mention ; one only I will not omit, and that is, to recommend unto you secrecy in this, whether it die in the birth or be proceeded in ; for that is neces-

sary, for more reasons than one. I confess I so heartily wish (if it A.D. 1626.
appear likely to prove well for both parties) the good success of
this, that I know not a second employment I should so gladly apply
myself unto, loving as a brother the father of the one, and reve-
rencing those excellent virtues that are so much admired both in
the mother and daughter. I have enjoined my father Mayerne not
to break the seal I have set on his lips, except it be to open them
to my Lord Chamberlain, with whom yet I have had no speech of
this; for it is but a night old with myself. The same liberty I con-
sent to your taking, whom I earnestly entreat to take me for

Your very affectionate friend,

Your wife was well yesterday morning. L. BEDFORD.
More Lodge, in haste, this 2d of October.¹

The parties for whom the countess was so much inter-
ested, were married in the June of 1626. In July, the
Duchesse de la Tremouille accompanied the young couple
into England; and whilst here was entertained at the king's
expense, who complimented her and her daughter with
magnificent banquets at Whitehall, as did the queen at
Somerset House.

One of the learned pursuits of Lady Bedford was the
study of medallic history, and the collection of ancient coins.
Towards this, in 1626, she received some valuable additions
from Sir Thomas Roe (ambassador to the sultan, as he had
previously been to the Mogul), whose highly interesting
published negotiations evince him to have been one of the
most sagacious, virtuous, and accomplished ministers that
England had yet produced; and who, notwithstanding the
press of business in which he was engaged, found leisure
to cultivate his taste for learning and *virtù*,—collecting,
during his travels, many valuable manuscripts as well as

¹ Harl. MSS. cod. 7000. 28. p. 110.

A.D. 1626. medals of the east, and enriching with antique marbles the galleries that were then forming by the Earl of Arundel, the Duke of Buckingham, and others. The letter with which he accompanied his present is one of the most beautiful expositions that we possess upon the subject, being equally clear, concise, and comprehensive.¹ To her knowledge of medals and skill in languages, was joined the love of horticulture, a taste which, adopted after her retirement from court, proves how little its atmosphere had disqualified her from relishing the peaceful pleasures of a country life, and how easily she could create to herself new sources of interest and delight. The king having, in 1617, granted to her and her husband the manor of More Park, in Hertfordshire, she the following year presented to her kinsman, William Harrington, her remaining interest in Twickenham Park, and transferred her residence to the More. It was here that she laid out and completed, "with great care, excellent contrivance, and much cost," that garden which obtained from Sir William Temple the praise of being, both in figure and disposition, the most beautiful and perfect, and altogether the sweetest place, which he had ever seen either in England or in foreign countries; the remembrance of which, at the distance of thirty years, was to him, he says, "too pleasant for him ever to forget."² Although in the principle of its formation the countess did not sufficiently depart from those Italian types which long after her day continued to influence the style of English gardens, yet, with the usual combination of terraces, balustrades, alcoves, and arbours, interspersed amidst fruit borders and flower parterres, — her native taste led her to throw off some of the customary

¹ It is to be met with in his "Negotiations," vol. v. p. 583.

² Works of Sir W. Temple, fol. 1720, vol. i. p. 170.

trammels of prevailing art—to banish the barbarity of A.D. 1626. “topiary work,” as it was called, which consisted in torturing the shrubs and hedges into all unnatural and monstrous forms,—and to cover, instead, her corridors for summer shade with the loose foliage of vines, to plant the borders of her walks with standard laurels, which in winter and summer had all the beauty of orange-trees out of blossom, and to plant a separate portion of her grounds entirely with greens that combined with shade and wildness the charm of agreeable seclusion and perennial verdure; whilst she superadded to the usual embellishments of fountain, vase, and statue, grottos of spar, of shell-work, and of rock. It was the *beau idéal* of Bacon’s fancy of a garden realised, and appears to have been very generally imitated, on various scales of magnificence and taste, by the English gentry and nobility of that period. Her devotion to the art attracted the notice of Castelvetro, an Italian, who dedicated to her his treatise on the various esculents and fruits that were then cultivated for the table, in his own country.

In some of these occupations, it is probable that the earl participated, although the equal tenour of his unambitious course has attracted little comment from contemporary writers. Whetstone dedicated to him his poem on the “Life, Death, and Divine Virtues” of his grandsire; and a few notes of his own occur, principally to Sir Robert Cotton, one of which is affixed, as an indication, however trifling, of his not ungraceful turn of thought.¹

¹ EDWARD, EARL OF BEDFORD, TO SIR ROBERT COTTON.

Sir,—I should very ill deserve the respect you declared to have ever present with you of me, upon the occasion of Mr. Burgess’s coming to you, if I should content myself only to hear thereof, without so much as rendering affectionate thanks for so great an expression of friendly kindness; whereof that you may know I have the sense I ought, these lines attend you,—the

A.D. 1627. He died the 3d of May 1627, and on Wednesday night, the 11th, was privately interred at Chenies. The health of the countess was at the same time so fast declining, that it was conjectured by a correspondent of the times that "she would not long outlive her husband."¹ The presentiment was accomplished. She died on the 26th of the same month; but it is altogether uncertain whether she was interred at Chenies or in Rutlandshire. A singular fate has attended her memory. After having passed, with unblemished reputation and celebrity, through all the phases of a reigning favourite and beauty, in a court by no means the most guarded and discreet; after carrying with her into retirement the friendship and affection of the wise, the learned, and the good, untouched by the least stroke of that calumny and satire in which such writers as Weldon and Osborne have indulged,—her fame has been aspersed, and her disposition grossly misrepresented, by two commentators upon portraits in the last century. It is a common error for such writers, in speaking of long-departed characters, to indulge in the expression of general and decisive judgments, from the knowledge of a few isolated facts distinct from the circumstances with which they must have been connected. Grainger found Drayton acknowledging that the countess "rained upon him her sweet showers of gold," and thinking

protest in my name that that care of yours hath made such an impression of gratitude in me as will not wear out, but appear manifestly, if ever I can find how to give a proof that I am

Your thankful and affectionate cousin,

BEDFORD.²

More Lodge, this 9th of Feb. 1625-6.

¹ Birch MSS. Mr. Mead to Sir M. Stuteville, June 2, 1627.

² MSS. Cott. Julius, C. iv. fol. 164.

only of those later reigns, when every dedication had its fee, A.D. 1627. pronounces that those showers were bribes for adulation, and the praises of Donne and Daniel but venal tributes to her boundless vanity. He found a few verses of Ben Jonson, thanking her for a buck which she had promised him, and hence Jonson also, the indignant satirist of every thing servile and unmanly, must be classed amongst her *parasites*, although such was his genuine admiration, that even in addressing other ladies, he cannot suppress his estimation of her merit.¹

Pennant carried his researches somewhat farther. He found her selling her ancestral estates at Exton and Burley; and not considering, that from want of offspring she had no very powerful motive for retaining them, loudly exclaims against her profusion and extravagance, and echoes the same unmeaning cry of insatiable vanity; not omitting, at the same time, a sneer at her being far “too sublime” for an attention “to domestic affairs,” and at the character for taste which she established before death. That she was profuse, cannot be denied; for her husband certainly alienated some of his estates in the West of England and Northumberland: but profusion then was far less the fault of the individual than of the age, as might be instanced from almost every page of the court correspondence extant. And if she dispensed her treasures prodigally, it was not merely, like most other ladies in the circle of the court—

“Celebrar giochi illustri, e pompe liete,”

but also with a loftier and less selfish aim,

“Nutrire e fecondar l’arte e gl’ingegni.”

Her farther vindication is left to the just remarks of Mr. Lodge, whose estimate of character and action is generally

¹ See his Epistle to the Countess of Rutland, in which he nobly asserts the dignity of his tribe, and his sense of Lady Bedford’s deserts, under the name of Lucinda.

A.D. 1627. the result of a judgment clear, candid, and acute, when it does not verge upon that line where the springs of party feeling are too obviously permitted to escape. "Her character," he remarks, "through a strange envious perverseness, seems to have been undervalued, because she was in her time the object of almost universal praise from those who were best qualified to judge of genius, as well as to express that judgment. Men of talent and taste in our day have condescended, for the sake of abusing her, to fall into the proverbial nonsense that poets can only lie and flatter. Grainger, in whose very agreeable book we may frequently trace the peculiarities of another mind and pen, tells us that she purchased all their complaisance with money, that they 'in return were as lavish of their incense,' and that, upon 'a moderate calculation, she paid them as much for their panegyrics as Octavia did Virgil for his encomium on Marcellus.' Pennant, in mentioning a portrait of her with which he chanced to meet, calls her 'that fantastic lady,' charges her with vanity and extravagance, and speaks scornfully of the earl, because he endured her. Thus these gentlemen have bestowed perhaps more imagination, not to say fiction, in their sober prose, than she received at the hands of all her poets; for certain it is, that they could not have stated a single fact in proof of their invectives."

There are at Woburn Abbey two portraits of Edward, Earl of Bedford. The one represents him sitting, in a suit of black and gold, with a high-crown hat, and his right arm in a sash or sling; the other, in a similar costume, standing, with his left hand resting on a table. "A°. 1616."

Those of the countess are more numerous. The first, at Woburn Abbey, is a fine painting, ascribed by Walpole to Gerard Honthorst: in this she is habited in black, with a

ruff, and a coronet on her head, sitting, with her face reclining on her hand : it has been engraved for the “*Illustrious Portraits*.” A similar one exists at Alloa, painted in 1620, in the thirty-eighth year of her age, which Pennant attributes to Cornelius Jansen. A.D. 1627.

The second, at Woburn, represents her somewhat younger, in that “*fantastic habit*” which excited Pennant’s spleen,—a large transparent veil distended behind her, and in the attitude of dancing.

A third is in possession of the Duke of Portland, a full-length, with red stockings, and otherwise singularly attired ; the features somewhat caricatured, and the figure standing amidst clouds.

The Duke of Buckingham possesses a fourth ; a very curious and interesting half-length miniature by Nicholas Hilliard ; with more open bosom, her hair curled, habited in a beautiful flowered dress, a large veil floating from her head-dress, a chain around her neck. It has been privately engraved for the possessor, in a circle, by R. Cooper. It does not appear from what picture the old engraving by Simon Pass was executed.

CHAPTER XVI.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF CHARLES THE FIRST TO THE COMMENCEMENT
OF THE TROUBLES IN SCOTLAND.

A.D. 1625—1638.

Francis, fourth Earl of Bedford . . . Marriage of his daughters . . . Lady Brooke . . . Lady Bristol . . . Lady Carlisle . . . Lady Newport . . . He signs the noted petition on the English peerage . . . Displeasure of the king . . . Maxims of the new king's government . . . Rising opposition in the Commons . . . Earl of Bedford strenuous in defence of the liberty of the subject . . . Petition of Right, 1628 . . . Royal message . . . Singular agitation of the Commons . . . Dissolution of the Patriotic Parliament . . . Persecution of its members . . . Star-chamber prosecution of the Earl of Bedford, 1629 . . . Drainage of the Fens, 1630 . . . Marriage of Lord Russell, 1637 . . . Negotiations for another alliance . . . Amusing letter of Lord Digby, 1637 . . . Marriage connexions of his other sons . . . Earl of Bedford's intervention on behalf of Lady Pembroke, 1638.



EDWARD, Earl of Bedford, was succeeded in his style and honours by his cousin Francis, the only son of the heroic William, baron of Thornhaugh. He had, at the age of nine years, accompanied his father into Ireland, where he remained till his recall, being then about twelve years old. He appears to have attended Sir William in his Irish diversions, if not in his expeditions, being represented in a curious painting of that time, at Woburn Abbey, in a white hunting jacket, with green hose, two dogs in couples near him, and a hawk upon his hand. He was knighted by King James at Whitehall, on the 30th of March, 1607, and in the following year was united to the object of his affections, Catharine, one of the daughters and co-heiresses of Giles Brydges, third Lord Chandos of Sudeley,¹ by Frances,

¹ Arms; *argent*, on a cross *sable*, a leopard's head *or*.

daughter of Edward Clinton, Earl of Lincoln; their marriage settlement being dated February 22, 1608. A.D. 1621.

In the happy privacy of lettered and domestic ease, his early years of manhood had flown by with scarce a record. In 1621, having a grant of the manor of Amersham, he had successfully exerted himself to procure a new charter restoring to that town its ancient right of sending burgesses to parliament.¹ For the establishment of such questioned privileges as these he was peculiarly qualified, having received at one of the inns of court² the education of a lawyer, which had induced, upon a mind naturally strong, inductive, and sagacious, a habit of patient thought and close investigation. These powers of his studious and energetic intellect he was daily engaged in sharpening, by an examination of the various religious and political controversies that were then under debate. The discussions in the later parliaments of James, to which, after his father's decease, he was summoned by writ as a baron of the realm, had strongly rivetted his attention. He attached himself then to the society of such men as Elliot, Selden, and Sir Robert Cotton; and directed his studies to the precedents, the usages, and power of former parliaments, grounding himself deeply in the principle and spirit of the laws as they bore upon the weighty questions then for the first time broadly mooted; and superadding, as he proceeded, to the accumulated sentiments and authorities of such patriots as these, the comments of his own vigorous and enlightened intellect. This is evinced by the voluminous observations entered in his common-place books, which also

BRYDGES.



¹ Letter to Sir Robert Cotton. Harl. MSS.

² His shield of arms was painted in the large semicircular window of *Gray's Inn*, as appears by the engraving in Dugdale's "*Origines Judiciales*," p. 300.

A.D. 1621. shew, though written in a rapid hand unfortunately little legible, that there was scarcely a parliamentary debate to which he listened, a book which he read, a sermon which he heard, or a subject to which he gave his steady thoughts, that was not systematically subjected by him to analysis, and in some shape or other made to furnish accessories to his wit or weapons for his wisdom. Yet there was nothing saturnine in either his aspect or disposition; but over the severe and studious temper of his thoughts was diffused a spirit of benignant charity, fruitful in deeds of beneficence to others, like the exuberant foliage and clusters that mantle on the gnarled vine.

He had, by the above lady, besides other offspring who will be hereafter noticed, four daughters, Catharine, Anne, Margaret, and Diana; all of whom rivetted regard or engaged admiration by their personal attractions, though varying considerably in their style of beauty. From their portraits preserved at Woburn Abbey, their characteristic distinctions may, with but little aid from fancy, be clearly and significantly traced.

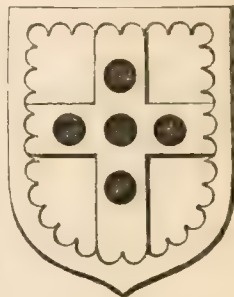
Catharine, the eldest, born in 1614, appears first at the age of thirteen, a large ruff encircling her neck, and setting off to great advantage a countenance full of gentleness and calm reflection. Her auburn hair, thrown back in perfect plainness, is behind fastened with a sprig of laurel. In the full maturity of womanhood she is again presented to us, in a dark costume of almost puritanical severity, which, notwithstanding, well comports with the regular features of her oval face, and an expression indicative of great simplicity of character—the placid gentleness of earlier years settled into a composed and dignified sedateness. But for the bunch of flowers at her breast, she might be deemed a recluse or nun.

She was married at the age of fourteen to Robert Greville, second Lord Brooke¹, then recently returned from his continental travels. He had been adopted as a son, in default of offspring, by his cousin, Fulke, Lord Brooke, Sir Philip Sidney's well-known literary friend, who conferred upon him an education well befitting the title and inheritance to which he destined him. To these Sir Robert had the regret to be prematurely called, by the assassination of his kinsman in 1628. The political sentiments entertained at this period by the young Lord Brooke, for he had but just passed his minority, were much in unison with the Earl of Bedford's. His ardent love of civil and religious liberty, imbibed by travelled intercourse with the religionists of Germany and Switzerland, and still farther increased by the influence of the earl's opinions, led him at a future period to view with equal indignation and impatience the rapid progress which the monarchy was making towards despotism, and to take a prominent part with his compatriots in curbing its career.

Anne, the second daughter, was born in 1615. Her countenance, symmetrical in all its features, transparent in its tints, and illuminated with eyes that gave to its expression somewhat of an imperial, but by no means an imperious character, exhibits a luxuriant beauty sublimed above her sister's by the superior intellect beaming on her forehead. Her auburn hair, disposed on each side of her face in a multitude of ringlets, is bound in a Grecian knot behind with strings of pearl. She is habited in a drapery of blue, and would appear likely to have captivated at the very first sight the affections of that extraordinary nobleman to whom she

A.D. 1621.

GREVILLE.



¹ Arms; *sable*, on a cross within a bordure engrailed *or*, five pellets of the first.

A.D. 1621.

DIGBY.



came to be united. George Digby,¹ the son of that earl of Bristol who had been employed as ambassador in Spain when the Duke of Buckingham and Prince Charles made their romantic journey thither, had very early in life given proofs of varied and commanding talent. When his father lay a prisoner in the tower, the young Lord Digby undertook on his behalf to present a petition to the Commons, which he delivered at the bar, with an appropriate speech, the modest confidence of which, in connexion with his extreme youth, graceful person, and ingenuous features, excited no small admiration. He was distinguished at Oxford by his attainments in every walk of literature, and returned from his travels the most accomplished young man of this, or perhaps of any other nation; a distinction to which the beauty of his person and the winning grace of his deportment gave peculiar lustre. It is at this period of his popularity and promise that he is depicted, with his brother-in-law, Lord Russell, by the unrivalled pencil of Vandyck, in a painting at Althorp, which can never be forgotten by those who have once seen it.² The retired life which his father, after his liberation, found it desirable to lead, proved of eminent advantage to Lord Digby; for, finding no footing at court, he went down to Sherborne Castle, where he cultivated an extensive acquaintance with the men of quality and talents who resorted thither for the earl's society. He gave his leisure hours there exclusively to books and study, the intenseness of which was attested by his acquisitions in the abstruse branches of philosophy, his deep acquaintance with the fathers, and his own controversial writings. With the poets of his own and ancient times he was intimately conversant;

¹ Arms; *azure*, a fleur-de-lis *argent*.

² A repetition of this picture, by the same artist, is at Woburn Abbey.

the verses which he wrote are said to have displayed great A.D. 1621. liveliness of fancy; in short, he appears to have excelled in every walk of art and science to which his inclination wandered. Such was Lord Digby at the time of which we write; his brilliant qualities the theme of every tongue; his infirmities, unquicken'd yet into action by his restlessness and impetuosity of temper, unnoticed or unknown. Later in life, when his ardent temperament impelled him into the tumultuous stir of public life, he suffered himself unfortunately to be borne hither and thither by the current, at the mercy of every new tide of thought, or fluctuation of ambition. He seemed to delight in putting on new shapes of character, as though, like Proteus, to baffle apprehension; and hence his whole mind, as well as conduct, appeared full of shining inconsistencies. Still, through every phase of character, whether dark or bright, into which his passions or his fancy carried him, his engaging personal qualities never failed to conciliate affection, even when they failed to shield from condemnation the errors into which he was betrayed.

Margaret, the third daughter, was born in 1618. Her features were cast in a yet finer mould of form than Lady Bristol's, with somewhat less strength of character in their expression; but this disparity was more than compensated by the ineffable sweetness of her eyes, and the contour of her lips, which breathed an unaffected air of half-angelic goodness. There was in Lady Bristol's aspect that which might seem to challenge admiration: the repose of Lady Margaret's spoke of feminine reserve and delicacy, regulating and giving dignity to a spirit that appeared "to love whate'er it looked upon." There was less power of thought enthroned upon her forehead, but in concert with the language of her eyes and lips, it beamed with a pure, a quiet, and a happy beauty

A.D. 1621. that would assuredly realise every promise which it made to a virtuous taste or an enamoured fancy. Her hair, of rather a darker tint than that of her two sisters, hung in long ringlets on her neck, enwreathed with a few simple flowers that received rather than imparted adornment to her person. She was married at an early age to James Hay, afterwards second Earl of Carlisle,¹ whose father filled so eminent a part in the transactions of this reign, and who ran so eccentric a course in the career of pomp and prodigality.

HAY.



Diana, the earl's fourth daughter, was born in 1622. She blended in her countenance the predominating qualities of her two next elder sisters; but of the two, it possessed more of Lady Carlisle's benignity than Lady Bristol's loftiness. Its prevalent expression was that of a candid and a tranquil spirit, owing more, in its power of pleasing, to the grace of regularity and calm composure, than to the active charm of animated thought. She was married to Francis, the eldest son (by Rachel, daughter of John Levison, Esq., of Trentham) of Sir Richard Newport,² of High Ercall, in Shropshire, a gentleman who, for his devotion to the cause of Charles I., came to be rewarded with the title of Lord Newport, by letters patent granted in the year 1642.

NEWPORT.



In forming or cultivating these family connexions, the current of Lord Bedford's life had passed equally and brightly on. The first public token of his political sentiments that he appears to have given, was in vindication of the privileges of the English hereditary peerage, which had been violated by the precedence claimed and given to the many English peers with Irish and Scotch titles, which James the First had recently created. Thirty-two of the more

¹ Arms; *argent*, 3 escutcheons *gules*.

² Arms; *argent*, a chevron *gules* between three leopards'-heads *sable*.

ancient nobility, resenting those marks of favouritism, which A.D. 1621. seemed to throw disparagement upon themselves, and resolved at least, says Wilson, that the king should see they were offended by it, joined with the Earl of Bedford, at that time Baron Thornhaugh, in signing a bold petition to the king; wherein, without seeking to limit his prerogative, they prayed, “that they might challenge and preserve their birth-right, and take no more notice, to their own prejudice, of such titulars than did the law of the land; but be excused if in civil courtesy they gave them not the respect which was generally accorded to the real Scotch and Irish peerage, seeing that, whilst born and inheritanced under the English laws, those gentlemen had, by importunity, procured these foreign titles only to the injury of the English hereditary peers.”¹

An appeal of so novel a character (for any union of opposition to the kingly will, in 1621—the days of the royal warrant and the Star-chamber—was a thing till then undreamt of), appeared likely in no small degree to rouse the anger of a prince so jealous of his loved prerogative as James. Of this the associated nobles were aware; but they took an effectual method of rendering it innocuous, as we learn from the following unpublished letter of a contemporary writer.

JOSEPH MEAD, ESQ. TO SIR M. STUTEVILLE.

Christ's Coll., Cambridge, Feb. 25, 1620-1.

Worthy Sir,—I am told, that upon Tuesday there was another petition tendered to his majesty from the Upper House, whereunto thirty-three of the nobility had subscribed their names, and resolved all together jointly to prefer it to his majesty; as the surest way to prevent the danger which might come to any particular, in case his

¹ Nichols's Progresses of James I., vol. iii. p. 655.

A.D. 1621. majesty should be offended. What their petition was I could not hear; however, the king would not give them admittance to his presence, but commanded them that they should deliver their petition to his privy council, to be considered of, which they refused to do; alleging that they accounted themselves at this time not to be inferior, or any way subordinate to his privy council, but above them; and that it was without example, and not agreeable to the laws of the kingdom, for the privy council to have the examination or cognizance of matters of parliament, which is the highest court in the kingdom, and not inferior to any other. At which answer his majesty was highly displeased, and redoubled his commandment, but they would not obey. Whereupon he sent the prince unto them, and commanded them to deliver it unto him. Then they desired some time of consultation, which done, they told his highness, that if he would make open protestation unto them that he received it not as, or in the name of a privy counsellor, and would promise, upon his honour, not to deliver it unto any but his majesty's own hand, and besides undertake to bring them all to his father's presence, they would then deliver it unto him — otherwise not.

When these conditions would not be entertained, nor they otherwise forego their petition, at last his majesty sends for the foremost of them, which was the Earl of Oxford, the chief peer, and commanded him to deliver the petition, supposing that he had it. But he, according as was agreed amongst them, before he entered, delivered it to the rest, and so informed his majesty that he had it not. Whereupon his majesty sends for a second, and so for a third, who leaving their petition as before, told his majesty they had it not. Whereat, his majesty much moved, asked, Who had it? Answer was made, the Earl of Lincoln; who being likewise called in, and answering that he had not the petition, but had given it to the next, at length they told his majesty, that it was in vain to send for any more of them, for they were fully resolved not to deliver it, unless they were admitted all together. Whereupon his majesty, wonderfully incensed, sent them all away, *re infecto*, and said, that he would come into parliament himself, and bring them all to the bar; as he had before threatened that he

would find him out that packed them together, and make him A.D. 1628.
smart for it. These things I am told by such as came from London
on Wednesday.¹

I am, &c. &c.

JOSEPH MEAD.

The whole incident is interesting to us, as evincing, in a language not to be mistaken, that the pernicious maxims which James had long industriously insinuated, and which he had at length ventured to put in practice with his parliaments, were then beginning to excite a lively jealousy, condemnation, and resistance.

James lived, however, only to call into their first play the arbitrary principles which mark the Stuart dynasty. To array and bring them into open conflict with the nation was reserved for his unhappy son. Those maxims of indefeasible and sacred right, which with James were little more perhaps than a deeply cherished sentiment, became with Charles an innate, fixed, and constant principle of action. It was not long before he began to reap its bitter fruits. Pernicious though the evils were that flowed from James's favouritism, his partialities either had been so widely lavished, or so combined with personal qualities of a more popular nature, as to have excited little serious discontent; and where dissatisfaction did exist, it cannot be doubted that it would be greatly controlled or counteracted by the abundance of titular honours which he every where conferred, and by the frequency of his progresses and visits to the rural gentry. But Charles was at once more reserved, tenacious, impatient, and severe; and his ill success in managing his early parliaments,

¹ Birch MSS. No. 4176. The injury to the English peerage remaining unredressed, was made the subject of another petition in the succeeding reign, by a vote of the whole house of lords. See it in Cobbett's Parl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 438.

A.D. 1628. whose affections he found himself incapable of engaging, served only to bind him more exclusively to the high and haughty Buckingham, whose power the nation justly regarded with jealousy and aversion. Standing thus aloof from his people, and seeking no conciliation with his parliament, whose opposition he so frequently provoked, the monarch became publicly and personally identified, which James was not, with that impetuous and arbitrary favourite; he was hence fated to participate in the odium which Buckingham every where inspired, and was involved, before he was fully sensible of the danger, in all the disastrous consequences of his rash and daring counsels.

From the liberal complexion of his sentiments and principles, it was impossible that the Earl of Bedford could be an unconcerned spectator of the contests in which the king and commons thus became embroiled,—contests which brought the royal prerogative, unbounded in its claims, insolent and insufferable in its tone and pressure, into open collision with the infant, but herculean energies of mental independence. Though but the skirmishes that preceded the wide war of opinion which subsequently enfranchised the nation from the “monstrous claim of many made for one,” the history of them is full of interest; and it is impossible to contemplate the intellectual efforts, the sufferings, the constancy, and heroic resolution of the chief actors in them without the highest admiration. They were men for the most part of sterling principle and patriotism, with minds cast in an athletic mould, and powerful, from their long laborious study of the laws and spirit of the constitution, to resist that yoke which the barbaric might of monarchy, jealous of all but its own feudal pre-eminence, sought to rivet on their necks and consciences. Parliamentary and legal precedents, and sound impassive

arguments, were the weapons which they used ; and as their A.D. 1628.
trust and patience were not yet outwearied by illusory promises and weak evasions, nor the desire of revenge yet excited by the *parade* of tyrannous exaction, they had no aim inconsistent with the real welfare of the monarch ; and if their controversy struck at his power and prerogative, it was in the absolutely necessary defence of their personal liberties and rights. Coke, Elliot, Seymour, Littleton, and Pym—Hampden, Selden, Phillips, Rich, and Cotton—were patriots worthy of the phalanx of Leonidas. Wisely, bravely, and yet most temperately, at this juncture, did they guard the mountain-fastnesses of freedom, which their country, their conscience, and the law, had given them to keep ; neither “ counted they their lives dear unto them,” so that they might transmit unimpaired—for the respect and awe of future sovereigns—the inalienable rights of the religionist, and the chartered privileges of the subject.

As it was principally upon the Commons that, in the shape of compulsory loans, Star-chamber processes, enormous fines, and remorseless imprisonments, the monarch laid the heavy hand of his “ divine right,” so it was in their House that the first stand and the warfare was most prominently maintained ; and hence we have but few transcripts upon record of the sentiments to which the peers gave utterance, whilst the great debates that preceded the dissolution of the parliament in 1629 were under agitation. There is, however, sufficient evidence to shew, that as Lord Bedford early came to the conclusion that a due limitation of the monarchical power was the only safe principle to abide by, in the struggle that had now commenced, for preserving the three estates of the realm in steady and harmonious connexion, he cordially and inseparably attached himself, by

A.D. 1628. private friendship as well as parliamentary patronage, to this little, this proscribed, but dauntless and uncompromising party.

No measure could be more purely constitutional than that which this party took for the redress of public grievances, and a restriction of the unbounded supremacy which Charles had claimed. Such gross and numerous infringements of the liberty of the subject had been committed, that there was, in many minds, a strong apprehension that the public discontents would effervesce into an insurrection. Sir Dudley Digges and Sir John Elliot, for the free mode in which they had exercised their parliamentary right of impeaching the minister Buckingham, had been thrown into prison, unadjudged; a forced loan for the supply of the exchequer had been demanded without the sanction of parliament, and enforced in a manner the most inquisitorial and stern. Even in the arbitrary reign of Henry the Eighth the spirit of the people had been sufficient to repel this odious species of exaction; and there was still enough of public virtue to imitate the precedent. Numbers of the gentry in Bedfordshire, Northamptonshire, and other counties, preferred the penalty of imprisonment to a compliance with the ukase; and the gaols were crowded with delinquents who gloried in their sufferings. Ship-money had been also recently, for the first time, demanded; and every maxim that transpired from the court precincts and pulpits indicated a resolution on the part of Charles and his minister to grind down into passive and absolute obedience the sturdy temper of the English freeman.

The fierceness of this feudal project was to be coped with, and controlled. As their barrier to the aggression, the Commons, at the close of their prolonged debates on the

liberty of the subject, produced their celebrated PETITION A.D. 1628. OF RIGHT, drawn up by Sir Edward Coke. The royal message which had passed whilst this admirable act was pending in the Commons, the nature of the alteration that was proposed to it in the Lords, and the various discussions which it underwent in conference between the two houses, attested its unpalatable character with the monarch, and its vast importance in the estimation of the people. The petition was happily preserved intact; and on the 2d of June the king submitted to give it his unwilling sanction, but in terms which gave no small dissatisfaction, as they varied from the usual form, and appeared more like an attempted evasion than a frank assent.

Whilst the subject was before the House of Lords, the Earl of Bedford, it appears, distinguished himself so conspicuously in favour of the rights claimed by the original petition as to attract the attention and displeasure of the king, who suddenly commanded him away from parliament to his distant lieutenancy of Devonshire,¹ where means were found to detain him till the session was prorogued, in disgust on the one hand, and indignation on the other. The commons, meanwhile, had agreed on a remonstrance to the king, which he met on the 5th of June by a peremptory message, commanding them quickly to conclude their business, and forbear to meddle farther with affairs of state. A more lively picture of the sensation which this haughty step excited can scarcely be portrayed than is furnished by the following impressive and unpublished letter: —

¹ The Earl of Bedford, one of the earnest ones for the defence of the liberties, is lately commanded down into Devonshire, whereof he is lieutenant; but he was not to know his commission till he comes there, whereat his family were somewhat perplexed.—MR. MEAD TO SIR M. STUTEVILLE, May 27, 1628. Birch MSS. No. 4176.

JOSEPH MEAD, ESQ. TO SIR M. STUTEVILLE.

Christ's College, June 15, 1628.

A.D. 1628. Worthy Sir,—Though I came not home time enough to unbuckle my budget to send by your coach, yet, lest you should remain too long under an uncertain relation, I have resolved to venture a line or two by Kenford; but you must expect no more than the time wherein I must write will afford me.

I know you have heard of that black and doleful Thursday, June 5, the day I arrived at London, which was by degrees occasioned first by his majesty's unsatisfactory answer on Monday, and increased by a message afterward, that he was resolved neither to add to, nor alter the answer he had given them. Hereupon they fell to recount the miscarriage of our government, and the disasters of all our designs these latter years, representing every thing to the life; but the first day glancing only at the Duke, not naming him. On Wednesday they proceeded farther, to the naming of him, Sir Edward Coke breaking the ice, and the rest following. So that on Thursday, they growing still more vehement, and ready to fall downright upon him, a message was sent from his majesty, absolutely forbidding them to meddle with the government, or any of his majesty's ministers; but if they meant to have this a session, forthwith to finish what they had begun, as otherwise his majesty would dismiss them.

Then appeared such a spectacle of passions, as the like had seldom been seen in such an assembly, some weeping, some expostulating, some prophesying of the fatal ruin of our kingdom, some playing the divines, and confessing their own and their country's sins, which drew this government upon us, some finding, as it were, fault with those that wept, and expressing their bold and courageous resolutions against the enemies of the king and kingdom. I have been told by parliament-men, that there were above a hundred weeping eyes, many who offered to speak being interrupted and silenced with their own passions. Yet they stayed not here; but as grieved men are wont, all this doleful distemper showered down upon the Duke of Buckingham as the cause and author of all their misery, in the midst of these their pangs crying out most bitterly against him, as the abuser of the king, and enemy of the kingdom.

At which time Mr. Speaker, not able as he seemed any longer to behold so woeful a spectacle in so grave a senate, with tears flowing in his eyes, besought them to grant him leave to go out for half an hour, which being granted him, he went presently to his majesty, and informed him what state the house was in, and came presently back with a message to dismiss the house and all committees from further proceeding until next morning, when they should know his majesty's pleasure forthwith. The like was sent to the Lords' house, and not there entertained without some tears, both houses accepting it as a preparation to a dissolution, which they expected would be the next morning; but this is observable (I had it from a parliament-man), that, had not the Speaker returned at that very moment, they had voted the duke to be an arch-traitor, and enemy to the king and kingdom, with a worse appendix thereto, if some say true. They were then calling to the question when the Speaker came in, but then stayed to hear his message.

The next day, Friday morning, they were recomforted with a message much better than they looked for, that they should go on and despatch their business, for which his majesty would grant them convenient time, and give them such satisfaction as was meet. They spent that day in the House of Commons in preparing a remonstrance to his majesty of the great danger the kingdom was in, and the grievances it groaned under, which they first thought upon the day before, when his majesty's message came unto them threatening a dissolution. They examined the transporting of ordnance, the selling of powder out of the Tower, the matter of the Dutch horse, &c.; but fell no more out upon the duke. That forenoon came an unexpected message from the Lords. Their lordships desired the Commons to join with them to petition his majesty for another answer to the Petition of Right, which they most gladly accepted of. I was then in Westminster Hall.

The next day, Saturday, June 7th, the Commons continued as before in making ready their remonstrance: they rose at twelve. I dined with Sir Robert Brooke at his brother's house, close by the Palace Yard, and sat with him till two, at which time he made haste again to the parliament house, there being then not so much as a suspicion of his majesty's letter coming to the house, as not having yet been moved by both houses, as was agreed. Neverthe-

A.D. 1629. less, about four o'clock, news came that his majesty was coming to parliament : presently the Commons were called up, and his majesty spoke unto them thus :—

“ The answer I have already given you was made with so good deliberation, and approved by the judgment of so many wise men, that I could not have imagined but that it should have given full satisfaction. But to avoid all ambiguous interpretation, and to shew you that there is no doubleness in my meaning, I am willing to please you in words¹ as in substance. Read your petition, and you shall have an answer that I am sure will please you. The petition being read, his majesty answered, *Le Droict soit faict comme il est désiré*. This I am sure is full, yet no more than I granted you in my first answer. You see now how ready I have shewed myself to satisfy your demands, so that I have done my part.” Presently the house testified their satisfaction with acclamations, and other like expressions.

I am, &c. &c.

JOSEPH MEAD.²

The satisfaction of the commons at this turn which the struggle took, did not, however, prevent their proceeding with the remonstrance on their other grievances ; in the discussions upon which, the Duke of Buckingham was boldly struck at by Elliot, Coke, and Selden. It was voted, in the end, that his excessive power, and the abuse which he made of it, was the cause of the public ills and dangers ; and that this resolution should be added to the remonstrance, for the sovereign to consider whether it were safe for him and the nation that he should be so near his person. A fresh remonstrance on the unjust seizure of tonnage and poundage, and other impositions without act of parliament, was under preparation, when, at the moment of its being read, the king came sud-

¹ “ For he was told they desired these, the ancient form theretofore used by his ancestors.”

² Birch MSS. No. 4177.

denly, in great displeasure, and prorogued the parliament. A.D. 1629. Notwithstanding which, when it resumed its sittings on the 20th of January, 1629, the popular members and great lawyers fell again to the consideration of the same wrongs; and, on a renewal of the remonstrance by Sir John Elliot, the sovereign, in despair of taming the high spirit of a parliament so constituted, terminated its stormy debates, in a fit of passion, on the 10th of March; and for twelve years the nation was left without any organ for the redress of its injuries or the expression of its wishes, abandoned to the insults and exactions of a haughty and despotic court, without any efficient power of prosecuting its quarrel to a just decision, till the great Hampden rose in vindication of its civil rights, and the Covenanters set their seal on the charter of free conscience.

In the meanwhile, as though the public animosities excited by this course of conduct were not sufficient, Charles followed up the blow by taking vengeance on the leaders who had most offended him; and Hollis, Elliot, and Selden, with others of the patriot party, were committed to prison for their late parliamentary proceedings; where, by their unflinching constancy under suffering, they acquired unbounded present popularity and future veneration. Sir John Elliot died during his incarceration, and the most grievous fines were imposed upon the rest by the engine of that earlier "reign of terror"—the detested court of Star-chamber.

But Charles's resentment did not end here. He readily availed himself of the means that were casually furnished him for criminating and punishing two other individuals, equally illustrious, who had joined in complaining of the grievances under which the nation groaned. These were the

A.D. 1629. Earl of Bedford and Sir Robert Cotton. Of the latter personage, although he was the uniform advocate for applying none but mild remedies to the public evils, and zealous for the honour and safety of the sovereign, the ministers of Charles had long been jealous: and so early as 1626 we learn that this great antiquary was menaced with the threat that his library should be taken from him, because he was in the practice of imparting ancient precedents to the Lower House,¹ in favour of its own power and of the people's liberties. To such an insufferable extent was the prerogative carried! The present, we presume, was judged a fit occasion for accomplishing this *desideratum* of oppression.

It happened that a treatise had been written at Florence by Sir Robert Dudley, during the late reign, entitled, "A Proposition for his Majesty's Service, to bridle the impertinency of Parliament"—the tenour of which was to shew by what means a British sovereign might overawe the nation, render himself independent of his parliament, and himself and his descendants absolute. The essay is known to have been presented in manuscript by the author to the late king, and to have been well received by him, as being in unison with many of his favourite maxims of state-government.² This tract coming into the possession of Sir Robert Cotton, had attracted the attention of Richard James, to whom he had committed the custody of his library, and who took the liberty, occasionally, of letting out for a gratuity several of his most valuable manuscripts. Amongst those of which such use was made was this particular treatise, which had

¹ Birch's MS. Collections, No. 4161. Letter to Mr. Mead, from London, April 28, 1626.

² See it in Rushworth's Historical Collections, vol. i. App. p. 12.

been borrowed by the celebrated St. John, a student at that time in Lincoln's Inn. St. John, struck with its significant design and scope, shewed a copy of it to the Earl of Bedford: and thus it passed, during this year, from hand to hand, till it was at last lent to Sir Robert Cotton himself, who, ignorant that it had come originally from his own library, set his private amanuensis to transcribe it. The amanuensis made as unjustifiable a use of it as the librarian, taking secretly various transcripts for himself, which he disposed of to those who saw in the essay a prototype of much that had been passing, of late years, in the government and court. One of these copies falling at length into Sir Thomas Wentworth's hands, now, by the *superinducements* of the monarch converted into a courtier, he transmitted it to the privy council, as a paper likely, in the present temper of the nation, to bring additional odium on the king's government.

The privy council immediately examined the amanuensis, as to whence he had obtained the book, who confessed that it was delivered to him by Sir Robert Cotton. Whereupon Sir Robert was examined also, with several of his friends, one after the other, as it had been from hand to hand delivered. There were subjected to this investigation, besides the Earl of Bedford, as those who were found to have been concerned in its circulation, the Earls of Somerset and Clare, Selden, and St. John. The latter, being conceived to be the author of the book, was committed close prisoner to the Tower; and the others were put under arrest. At five o'clock in the afternoon of November 5th, a day shrewdly chosen for the inculpation, Sir Julius Cæsar, master of the rolls, received an order from the secretary of state to take Lord Bedford into custody, "to use him with all courteous and due respect, but to see that he made no despatches by

A.D. 1629. letters or messages, nor had conference with any, till further order from the lords' committee."¹

At seven o'clock the earl was delivered into the knight's custody, by the secretary himself, and Mr. Dickenson, clerk of the council. A second letter, from the secretary to Sir Julius, requested him to certify to the earl, that if any search were made amongst his papers, he might have his solicitor, or whom he would, present; and for any occasion of business, the service of either of the state secretaries, or Sir Julius himself. The other parties were similarly dealt with in all respects, with the exception of the good and learned Selden, who was already in the Tower, for his constitutional opposition to the proceedings of the government. The virtuous horror which the council chose to affect on the occasion is strikingly portrayed in a letter extant from the Archbishop of York.

DR. SAMUEL HARSNET TO SIR HENRY VANE.

London, Nov. 9th, 1629.

Yesterday his Majesty was pleased to sit in council with all the board, and commanded that devilish project found upon Sir Robert Cotton to be read over unto us. For my own part, I never heard a more pernicious diabolical device, to breed suspicious, seditious humours amongst the people. His majesty was pleased to declare his royal pleasure touching the lords and others restrained for communicating that project, which was, to proceed in a fair, moderate, mild, legal course with them, by a bill of information preferred into the Star-chamber, whereunto they might make their answer, by the help of the most learned counsel they could procure. And though his majesty had it in his power most justly and truly to restrain them till the cause was adjudged, yet, out of his princely clemency, he commanded the board to call them, and to signify unto them to attend their cause in the Star-chamber. They were

¹ Letter to Sir J. Cæsar; Harl. MSS. cod. 7000, p. 148.

personally called in before the lords (the king being gone), and A.D. 1629.
acquainted by the keeper with his majesty's gracious favour. Two
never spoke a word expressing thankfulness for his majesty's so
princely goodness: two expressed much thankfulness, which were
my Lord of Bedford and Sir Robert Cotton. St. John and James
are still in prison; and farther than unto these the paper reacheth
not in direct travel, save to Selden, who is also contained in the
bill of information. I fear the nature of that contagion did spread
farther; but as yet no more appeareth. I am of opinion it will
fall heavy on the parties delinquent.

I am, Sir, &c. &c. SAMUEL EBOR.¹

There can be but little doubt that these personages, who
were all, except Somerset, eminent for their profound acquaint-
ance with the letter and spirit of the English constitution, had
encouraged the perusal of the tract, by way of antidote to the
principles which it laid down. But the motives for the course
which the court pursued have been the subject of various
surmises. The Earl of Somerset had sent a copy to the
Bishop of London; the Lord Clare another to the Bishop
of Winchester:² yet neither of these prelates was examined
or restrained. It has been hence supposed by some, that the
court was at first by no means really displeased at the pub-
lication, as thinking that by it the pulse of the people might
be felt, upon the stirring subject of monarchical taxation; but
connived at it until the sentiments it advocated were found
to be generally reprobated, when the monarch was advised
to have recourse to such a *coup d'état* as might throw the
earl and his friends into discredit with the nation. The
real object of the court appears to us to have been of a
threefold nature,—the persecution of its political oppo-
nents; the incapacitating of Sir Robert Cotton from fur-

¹ Chalmers's Biog. Dict. vol. x. p. 325.

² Ib. p. 324.

A.D. 1629. nishing any more precedents on the jurisdiction and powers of parliament; and the clearing of itself, by a public shew of indignation, from the suspicion of being influenced by the maxims advocated in the manuscript. The course it followed was in perfect harmony with all these objects. The several parties were suffered to remain in strict confinement till the 15th, when a bill was filed against them in the Star-chamber. The library of Sir Robert Cotton was locked up from his use, seals were set upon the door, and two or more of the guards appointed to watch his house continually. The law process would doubtless have been followed by its usual result of enormous fines, had not Sir David Foulis declared upon oath the real author of the pamphlet, and the auspices under which it had first come to England. It would have been an awkward thing for Charles to have punished noblemen like felons for that at which the late king had manifested no dissatisfaction. One of the articles of the indictment was also falsely laid: it stated that the project was framed and contrived within five or six months past in England; but the deposition of the witnesses clearly shewed that it was written in Italy sixteen or seventeen years before, and purchased nine years since with other manuscripts in Little Britain. The cause, therefore, was not suffered to come to a formal decision, although opened by Heath, the attorney-general, on the 29th of May, 1630, in the presence of a great concourse of nobility. For, before the defences were gone through, the king assumed a show of lenity, and sent a message to lord keeper Coventry, then in court, apprising him, that as the queen had given birth to a prince, it was his wish to proceed no further in the prosecution. Whereupon the lord keeper directed the cause to be dismissed, the book to be

burnt as seditious and scandalous to the king and government, and the proceedings to be taken off the file.¹ A.D. 1629.

It is, notwithstanding, worthy of peculiar remark, that Sir Robert Cotton's library was never more restored to his use, and that this privation from his favourite pursuits was the cause of so much anguish, that his aspect, "which had formerly," says one who knew him, "been ruddy and well-coloured, was wholly changed into a grim blackish paleness, near to the resemblance and hue of a dead person." To Sir Symonds d'Ewes he stated, "that they had broken his heart who had locked up his library from him;" and to another, "that its loss would be found after his death to be written on his heart, like Calais on Queen Mary's."² He lingered in this state until 1631, when he expired, "in the faithful expectation of a better life." A little before he died, he requested Sir Henry Spelman to signify to the lord privy-seal, and the rest of the lords of the council, "that their so long detaining of his books from him, without rendering any reason for the same, had been the cause of his mortal malady." The message appears to have touched them with compunction; for "the privy-seal came to Sir Robert when it was too late, to comfort him from the king, from whom the Earl of Dorset likewise came, within half an hour of his decease, to condole with his son, Sir Thomas Cotton, for his death, and to tell him from his majesty, that as he loved his father so he would continue to love him."³ If any fresh circumstance were wanting to heighten the significant character of the whole proceeding, it would be the insincerity, not to say hypocrisy, of such a compliment.

¹ Rushworth, vol. i. part 2, p. 53.

² Sir T. Pickering to Mr. Pory, May 12, 1631. Birch MSS. No. 4176.

³ Ibid.

A.D. 1680.

Whatever end the monarch or the council had proposed to themselves by this annoyance of the Earl of Bedford, it neither lessened his reputation, nor diverted him from his resolution to oppose, by all the legal means in his power, the subversion of his country's liberties. On the contrary, his integrity and love of freedom, tempered as it was with the wisest moderation, attached him more and more to the regard of that constantly increasing party, who daily looked with greater solicitude for barriers that should arrest the encroachments of the crown, and establish the rights of parliament and subject, on a clear and indisputable basis.

There were many, however, who could not share in the earl's hopes that any barriers or securities would be discovered; and of this number was his son-in-law Lord Brooke. Such was this nobleman's discontent at the prospects entailed on his country, that he was seriously meditating, with his bosom friend Lord Say, and other patriots of distinction, to leave for ever a land, where, after the imprisonment of Elliot and Selden, parliamentary privilege might be termed a shadow, and liberty and independence a mere name. Purchasing an extensive tract of land in New England for a settlement, a town was built there, and called, after their joint names, Say-brooke; but before their preparations for departure were completed, hopes were raised, by the rough determined spirit roused throughout the nation, that they might yet see its grievances redressed, and such salutary reforms introduced into both church and state as might satisfy their conscientious desires. They continued, therefore, in England, and watched, with an intense regard, every turn of affairs that influenced their country's destinies. As the crisis approached, the enthusiasm of Lord Brooke hurried him beyond the mark of happy moderation which Lord Bedford

ever advocated, and by which alone he sought to shape his A.D. 1630. conduct. But before adverting to these incidents, which principally affect the latter years of the earl's history, we will proceed to details unconnected with the troubles of the times, and that bear stricter reference to his private fortunes.

He was no sooner freed from the above prosecution than he gave his thoughts to an undertaking highly patriotic in its principle, and vast in its design. That extensive tract of fen land, embracing a large portion of Huntingdon and Cambridgeshires, but reaching also into the surrounding counties of Norfolk, Lincoln, and Northampton, which at this period was known by the name of The Great Level, had been celebrated by the historian of Henry the Second, for the extraordinary beauty of its verdure,—its plains without a waste, its very marshes planted with the noblest forest-trees, and the more fertile portions delightful with apple-trees and vines.¹ About three centuries afterwards, it was inundated with floods, which converted this inland Eden to a watery waste, fit for grazing only during summer, when the water was exhaled by heat in an atmosphere little less unhealthy than the climate round the Pontine marshes. In this state it had subsequently lain, with the exception of some partial drainages by private individuals. It at length engaged the attention of King James, who declared that he would no longer suffer the land to be abandoned to the waters. Plans were accordingly made, estimates formed, and commissions issued in favour of such as might be willing to commence a general drainage; but disputes arising, the king himself, for 120,000 acres of the waste, became the undertaker of the great work, and invited over from the Low Countries Sir Cornelius Vermuyden, to carry his project into effect. Vermuyden obtained for

¹ William of Malmesbury's Description of Thorney.

A.D. 1630. himself and the foreign adventurers whom he persuaded to embark with him in the speculation, a grant of this allotment from the crown. But meanwhile a strong jealousy of foreign intervention became rooted in the minds of the people of those parts, who, in their aversion to the Flemish engineer, earnestly solicited the Earl of Bedford, himself the proprietor of large domains round Whittlesea and Thorney, for the good of the whole country, to become the head and patron of the princely undertaking. Their request was seconded by a court of the commissioners of sewers held at Lynn; Vermuyden's contract was abandoned, and the earl assented to their call. "A more striking instance of self-devotion to the wishes of the people, and the real benefit of the state, appears not," says the historian of the Fens, "upon the records of history. The earl saw before him the brightest prospects; Hope dawned over a dreary waste; in the ardour of his imagination a new world arose to crown his efforts, and enable him to deserve from posterity a monument of its unceasing gratitude and admiration."¹ By a contract entered into, on a commission issued by the crown, and enrolled in the Court of Chancery, September 1, 1630, the earl was to have 95,000 acres of the inundated land as his return for the expense and hazard consequent upon the drainage. He associated with him fourteen other gentlemen, whom his spirited example allured to take inferior shares, and the work was pursued with extraordinary zeal and perseverance. In 1637, the earl had expended on the task the immense sum of 100,000*l*. The execution of the work being at first adjudged defective, his grant was restricted to 40,000 acres; but he still persisted in his project with an assiduity suited to his singularly energetic mind, undepressed by the many

¹ Wells's History of the Bedford Level, vol. i. p. 106.

serious obstacles that impeded its accomplishment. The A.D. 1630. calamities which fell upon the nation in his latter years necessarily diverted his attention from this favourite scheme, and he had not himself the satisfaction of witnessing its completion. But when the Civil Wars had terminated, leaving leisure and security for the cultivation of the arts of peace, the labour was resumed by his successor in the earldom. And the original grant being renewed, at a session held at Ely on the 2d of March, 1653, it was decreed that the magnificent undertaking was completely achieved;—a triumph altogether unexampled in the history of British agriculture, amidst the many trophies of that “rural industry,” beneath the magic of whose toils, as it is happily described by Thomson,

“New scenes arise, new landscapes strike the eye;
Gay plains extend where marshes slept before;
O’er recent meads exulting streamlets fly;
Dark frowning heaths grow bright with Ceres’ store,
And woods embrown the steep, or wave along the shore.”

The earl was not altogether so fortunate in the settlement of his sons as he had been of his daughters. William, the eldest, had been created a knight of the Bath at the coronation of the king. After the completion of his education at Magdalen College, Oxford, he travelled for two years, and returned in the winter of 1634, an extremely handsome and accomplished gentleman. There were at this time three young beauties of almost equal personal attractions, who divided the admiration of the court, the Lady Elizabeth Cecil, Lady Anne Carr, and Lady Dorothy Sidney. Upon one of these Lord Russell was expected to fix his choice; and, being heir to so considerable a fortune, his movements were watched with no small curiosity by that numerous tribe which flutters in the sunshine of court fashion. It was some

A.D. 1634. time before his intentions were divined ; but the constraint of his demeanour at length betrayed his secret partiality. “ The voice goes,” says a writer of the day to Sir Thomas Wentworth, “ that he bends somewhat towards the Lady Anne Carr.” She was the sole daughter of the Earl and Countess of Somerset, and was born December 9, 1615, whilst her mother was imprisoned in the Tower. During the years that intervened between her birth and the eve of womanhood, the strong public sentiment excited by her parents’ ignominy, though it is impossible it could be yet obliterated, had had leisure to subside. Nor in the absolute wreck of favour and fortune which Somerset sustained, heightened as it unnecessarily was by the merciless nature of the late king’s confiscations, were there wanting numbers who regarded *his* misfortunes with indulgence and compassion. Under these circumstances, it can be no subject of surprise that his daughter had grown up in total ignorance of the misconduct of her parents ; whilst every care that parental fondness could suggest had been lavished on her education. It was perfectly possible—it was natural, and accordant with every generous impulse of the heart, for a young nobleman, enamoured of the charms of this interesting object, to separate her image from the blighting associations connected with her parents : but it was different with older and discreeter men ; and there were perhaps few families that would not have shrunk from an alliance with even the beautiful and virtuous daughter of the house of Somerset.

The Earl of Bedford had stood prominently forward on the day of the countess’s condemnation ; for, as she went to Westminster Hall to undergo her trial, himself and the Lord Norris, with two other knights or barons, had formed part of her escort, following the six sergeants-at-law and the clerk of

the crown in Chancery, who were preceded by Sir Richard Coningsby with the white staff of office. Whether this were the result of his own choice, or an arrangement of the royal heralds, he could not but have participated in the general abhorrence that attended the disclosure of her guilt. Anxious now both for his son's welfare and the honour of his house, he warned him to be upon his guard against the dangerous beauty of Lady Anne Carr, but freely permitted him to seek a bride any where besides. Affection is, however, no passive creature of the will: the eyes of Lord Russell, dazzled by this lady's charms, might also see it as no part of pure justice thus to make the daughter pay the mother's penalty to stern opinion; a passionate attachment sprang up between the two, before which every lighter consideration of policy and prudence was quickly extinguished. The earl opposed their union; the prohibition but increased their flame: and a war of conflicting wishes, regrets, and troubles, thus arose, which threatened to disturb for ever the peace of either the father or the son. Many mutual friends endeavoured to mediate a satisfactory conclusion of the affair, but none could conquer the earl's repugnance to the match, till the king himself became a suitor, sending the Duke of Lennox with urgent entreaties to persuade him no longer to withhold his countenance from the connexion. His intercession took effect, and a treaty was commenced. The earl's high requisitions and the poverty of Somerset created fresh delay; but at length, by the sale of his house at Chiswick, his plate, his jewels, and his household furniture, a portion of 12,000*l.* was raised by Somerset; who is said to have acknowledged to the lord chamberlain, that as one of them was to be undone if the marriage went not on, he chose that it should be himself rather than his own

A.D. 1637. deserving child. The anecdote is an affecting one ; and the self-sacrifice which it implies, may, even by the moralist, be permitted to go far towards redeeming his memory from shame. All obstacles being removed, the marriage was celebrated during the Easter of 1637.¹ The undisturbed happiness and harmony in which the parties lived, soon reconciled the earl to the connexion ; and, eminent in all the duties of civil and domestic life, the Lady Anne Carr is only now remembered as the virtuous and happy mother of the great and good Lord Russell.

CARR.



A marriage connexion for John, his third son, was at the same time the object of the Earl of Bedford's care. His cousin Edward, Earl of Bath, had married, for his second wife, Anne, the youthful daughter of Sir Robert Lovett, of Lipscombe, who was now a widow. It was to this lady that proposals on the part of Mr. Russell were made, and the task of conducting the negotiation was intrusted to Lord Digby ; for which purpose he went down to Tawstock, the residence of Lady Bath, with whom the grand-daughters of the earl had been staying some time on a visit. The intimacy that had long subsisted between the two families, no less than the many benefits which Lord Bedford had had it in his power to confer on Lady Bath, seemed at first to promise a favourable issue to the overtures. But a rival suitor, in the person of Sir Henry Bouchier, the new Earl of Bath,² had, as it appears, occupied her father's ear with large vaunts of the settlement which he would make, if his suit should be accepted ; and Sir Robert Lovett, although pledging

¹ Arms ; *Gules*, on a chevron *argent* three mullets *sable*, in the dexter part of the escutcheon a lion passant guardant *or*.

² He was second cousin to Edward the late Earl of Bath, who had died without male heir.

himself with the Earl of Bedford, not merely to a dispassionate A.D. 1637.
neutrality, but to an absolute favour of his son's pretensions,
was caught by the splendid lure; so that whilst the lady's
fancy wavered between the admission of Mr. Russell's merits
and a secret preference for his elder brother Francis, Sir
Robert covertly represented to her the superior advantages
of the other connexion; and when he saw that real regard
was in danger of predominating over interest, threw into
the rising scale the whole weight of his parental authority.
The process of the negotiation is presented to us in an
• amusing letter from Lord Digby, extremely characteristic
of the writer.

GEORGE LORD DIGBY TO THE EARL OF BEDFORD.

My most honoured Lord,—My unsuccessfulness in the way of
your service would much afflict me, but that I can raise comforts
to myself both from your wisdom and your goodness. By that, you
know, that in all designs of the world, even where the means seem
most in our own power, the ends are notwithstanding in destiny;
and by the latter I doubt not but you are prepared to receive as
strong confirmations of my love and fidelity from affectionate
endeavours, as from the most effectual successes. Let me at once
relate to you both how unlucky I have been, and how industrious.

On my arrival at Tawstock, I was much surprised to find my
Lord of Bath there, who I thought would have been at the assizes;
but he had altered his resolution between the time of my intelli-
gence and my coming. I surprised them all as much, filling the
countess with blushes, her parents with confusion, and the count
with jealousy. She covered hers well with hearty welcomes; they
sought to disguise theirs with civilities; and his lordship (I never
having seen the Colossus before), you will easily believe, looked
big: the former I answered in their kind, and for his Honour, I
found it no hard matter to put as good a face upon it as he. We
were all easily parted the first night, to go to bed. The next day
there was much less *faroucheness* between his lordship and me;
we grew to reconnoitre one another, by conversation in the learned
way: the countess was full of serenity; her mother very accostive;

A.D. 1637. and Sir Robert somewhat costive. I thought it was my first business to make some certain discovery of my lady's inclinations, and I found her not very shy to declare that they were very distant from our rival. In the next place, I let my Lady Lovett a-board me, which she did with all the professions that might be, of love and service to your lordship and yours; but withal expressing much grief that your lordship had addressed one of your sons to her daughter, whom, though infinitely deserving, she could not entertain, being prepossessed with inclinations to the other, both by her own remembrance of him, and the advantageous character which Mr. Blechington gave of him, on his first return from Woburn after the death of my Lord of Bath. She protested, that had your lordship thought her daughter worthy of *him*, the earl had never been listened to, and that now she believed truly he would never be hearkened to, she found her ladyship so averse. Hereupon I represented unto her, the best I could, excuses for Frank's not coming at first, and inducements to her, persuading still for Jack, and reasons diverting from my Lord of Bath, both in the serious and merry way, as I saw which would work best. In fine, she seemed entire of my side, and we parted pleasantly, agreeing upon this point, that it were preposterous to prefer a servant to her daughter that was both old and heavy. Thus not denying me (in case the count had her daughter) to further my suit for the reversion of her heart, after two husbands, exit my Lady Lovett, enter Sir Robert. He treads much in my lady's former path, but at every step I find him halting, and yet he props himself up by protestations of great affection to you in general, and of a very entire neutrality in this particular.

Next after this, I address myself in private to my Lady Bath; press her in behalf of my brother John; reason with her against the sacrificing herself again to an antique partner, having by the former penance purchased to herself all accommodations she could wish in point of fortune. She made not nice to tell me she could affect neither; whereupon I fell to soundings concerning Frank, alleging many expressions of her own that leant that way; wherein, after great debate with her modesty, she became a very clear interpreter of what she had written to your lordship. I proffered her my service towards the effecting of it. She, after much difficulty, as fearing to appear the wooer, accepts of it so far as to

promise expectance of my powers from you, and firm secrecy in the business, even from her parents. Here ends the first Act. Does it not look like a comedy? but what follows is tragical.

Sir Robert Lovett, whether by her coldness after this, or by her not being able to give a good account of her private conference with me, finds somewhat in the wind, and either by art or authority wrests the secret from her; which so vexes him, that he can no longer hold, but to me he comes, so full that he could not pour forth any thing a great while, but bubbled only. At length out it brake. He takes it very ill I should enter into a new treaty, before he had ended with my Lord of Bath; and in the way of this expresses much heat. Seeing that, I screw it up to the height; I tell him, that since he had discovered so much, I professed I would draw my lady if I could the way I wished, although as yet I had no authority from you: whereupon he flew into such a passion, that he swore he would work for my Lord of Bath; nay more, if his daughter had him not, he would have no more to do in what concerned her. I took the advantage of his foolish intemperance, and told him calmly that I was glad I had a proof out of his own mouth of what I had long suspected,—to wit, that his late protestations of neutrality were as false as his former to your lordship of powerful assistance; and upon this he went his way pitifully embossed, leaving me to make this conclusion of him, that I have never known so fit an officer for Satan, if he had but wit correspondent to his falsehood.

Upon this, the Earl of Bath sets so close to the countess and her mother, applies the father's authority—such threats! (a new way of dagger courtship), such proffers! hems her in with stickling divines, making the spirit woo for the flesh, that he staggers the good creature, and quite wins the mother—insomuch that the next day, when I would have withdrawn the countess to speak with her in private, her ladyship forbade it us, saying, that she had engaged her faith to the contrary to the earl. Whereupon I told the countess, I found I was much mistaken in thinking her a free woman, but saw she was under guardians, and therefore I would take my leave. This drove the good lady into passionate weeping, and afterwards a discreet, but sharp expostulation with her mother; insomuch that she begged me soon after, that I would speak with her daughter; but I took my leave, and went away to a cousin's

A.D. 1637. of mine thereby, whence these letters, of which I here send you copies, did pass between us, which wrought so upon her, that if my Lady Lovett had not artificially applied herself to the submissive way, I have reason to believe they would have lost all power with her: but now she doth comply with their desires, and hearkens to my Lord of Bath, but so as if he do not make those settlements upon her that all the world shall think him mad, according to his large offers, I am deceived if you have her not shortly in your power.

Be pleased, my dear lord, to pardon the trouble I give you with so tedious and disjointed a narration. I have been transported the rather to it by a certain pleasure and pride I take in the repetition of any thing wherein you have honoured with employment

Your affectionate son and humble servant,

GEORGE DIGBY.¹

My humble service to my Lady Bedford; she will excuse my not writing, for here is trouble enough for you both.

Sherborne, this 15th of August, 1637.

He afterwards notices the effects of this dexterous management.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY DEAR LORD AND FATHER,
THE EARL OF BEDFORD.

My most honoured Lord,—I send this to advertise your lordship, that I am revived by hopes of serving you successfully in that wherein I almost despaired. If you continue to think the Countess of Bath worthy of your son Francis, I dare to say, that if she be not his, the fault will be yours. Be pleased only to impose upon yourself in this business a strict secrecy for awhile.

It seems my Spanish treating hath been like some chymic medicines, which have at first no relish at all in the mouth, but, digested, prove of most violent operation; or else I have had the same fortune a wooing which hath oft happened to me a hunting,—to shoot, think I had missed, and afterwards to find the deer wounded in a brake. *Hæret lateri læthalis arundo*: apply it to the countess.

¹ Harl. MSS. Cod. 7001, p. 69.

The many particulars of this business, and the considerations A.D. 1637. that result from it, are no fit matters for a letter; yet I wait not upon you now, in regard that there would be more notice taken of it than the secrecy that the thing requires will admit of. I rather expect till your lordship pretend some other occasion, and send to speak with me; then I shall acquaint your lordship at large with many passages which I have forborne to write. In the meantime, I beseech you to believe that no child of your own is fuller of duty and love to you than

Your Lordship's most affectionate son and humble servant,

GEORGE DIGBY.¹

Sherborne, this 21st of August, 1637.

The following is the earl's reply:—

Son Digby,—It is a country-business observation, that you must not put warm eggs under a sick hen; so, in the incubation of business, the warmth of industry discloses the bird. The assurances you raise for yourself, I am confident carry strength with them, and so you may proceed, conditionally that the earl shall fully go off before we come on; and I wish, if it might be coming on the earl's part, that peace might be the *cor de flore* between my lady and him; for I will not marry my son Frank to a demurring, though I would have ventured my third son to have argued it. But let me tell you what I hear: that the earl, if he cannot obtain her, will get as much light and discovery as he can, to build a question of law or justice upon it, to draw it to a kind compromise on my lady's part. This, if it were advertised, and not by letter, to my lady, and by one of trust, would not hurt my lady's affairs. Your presence here I shall not need to this business, for I dare trust your judgment in a woman's love; and see the coast clear before you put for the port.

I am, &c. &c.

F. BEDFORD.²

The subject being thus but languidly enforced, came to a void but courteous conclusion. Colonel Russell is afterwards

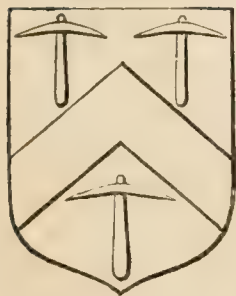
^{1 2} Harl. MSS. Cod. 7001.

A.D. 1637. described by Grammont, in his usual self-satisfied and flip-pant style, as being an admirer of “La belle Hamilton,” to whom the count himself paid his addresses,—an assertion apparently made upon no other ground than to enhance the glory of his own triumph. He commanded a regiment for the king during the civil wars, was wounded at the battle of Naseby, and served with great reputation in many other actions of the time. On the Restoration, he was made Colonel of the first regiment of guards, and died unmarried, November 21, 1681, at the age of sixty-nine.

GREY OF WARK.



MOSELEY.



NORTH AND GREY.



BROOKE.



Francis, the earl's eldest son, married Catharine, daughter of William, Lord Grey of Wark,¹ widow of Sir Edward Moseley, Bart.,² and of the Lord North and Grey.³ He had no offspring by this lady, and died in France in 1641, a month before his father.

Edward, the youngest son, married Penelope, the widow of Sir William Brooke,⁴ K.B., daughter and co-heir to Sir Moses Hill,⁵ of Hillsborough Castle, Ireland, knight marshal of Ulster, and ancestor to the present Marquess of Downshire. By her, who deceased November 7, 1661, he had five sons⁶ and two daughters; and dying September 21st, 1665, was interred at Chenies on the 19th of October. He was succeeded by his eldest son, William, who served as standard-bearer to Charles the Second, in the king's own company of foot-guards, and died unmarried in 1674.

¹ Arms; *Gules*, a lion rampant within a bordure engrailed *argent*.

² Arms; *Sable*, a chevron between 3 mill-picks *argent*.

³ Arms; *Azure*, a lion passant *or* between 3 fleurs-de-lys *argent*.

⁴ Arms; *Gules*, on a chevron *argent* a lion rampant *sable*, crowned *or*.

⁵ Arms; *Sable*, 3 lions passant guardant *or*, on a fesse *argent* 3 escallops *gules*.

⁶ His second son was Edward, one of the great ornaments of his age and country, subsequently better known under the name of Admiral Russell, whose story will be traced hereafter. The other sons were John, Francis,

Such were the alliances which the earl contracted for his family. In 1636 he was appointed a commissioner with some others to inquire into all defective titles, and to sell and convey the various lordships and manors named in their schedule of instructions. But in the previous year we find him rendering various friendly services to Anne Clifford, his cousin-german, particularly in settling some important arrangements between her and her second husband, Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke. A.D. 1636.

In neither of her marriages had this lady found the happiness to which her deserts so eminently entitled her; being subjected in both “to many crosses and contradictions,”—with her first lord from resisting his prodigal extravagance, and from the contentious efforts which he made, to induce her to sell her rights in the contested lands of her inheritance, a measure to which she never would consent,—with her second husband, because she would neither compel her youngest daughter, Lady Isabella Sackville, to sacrifice herself in marriage to one of his younger sons, nor relinquish her

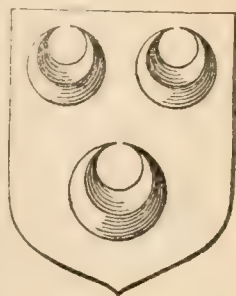
HILL.



HARBORD.



CHEEKE.



and James, all of whom died without offspring. The daughters were Letitia, and Catharine, who married Capt. William, a younger son of Sir Charles Harbord;¹ and died August the 19th, 1602. Letitia was wife to Thomas Cheeke, Esq.² of Pirgo, in Essex; by whom she had one only daughter and heiress—Anne, married to Sir Thomas Tipping, bart., of Wheatfield, in Oxfordshire. Sir Thomas dying January 21st, 1727–8, left two daughters, his co-heiresses, Letitia, married to Samuel, Lord Sandys, and Catharine, the wife of Thomas, Lord Archer. Lady Cheeke married, secondly, Robert Russell, fifth son of William, the first Duke of Bedford, by whom she had no issue, and dying January 8th, 1721, at the age of 72, was interred in the family vault at Chenies on the 12th, her funeral sermon being preached by Dr. Samuel Knight, who published it in the following year, with a dedication to her daughter, the Honourable Lady Tipping.

¹ Arms; quarterly *azure* and *gules*, an imperial crown *or*, between 4 lions rampant *argent*.

² Arms; *Argent*, 3 crescents *gules*.

A.D. 1638. interest in 5000*l.*, which she held as part of her marriage portion. So that, whilst touching with amiable forbearance, in her memoirs, on their respective injuries and caprices, she acknowledges that, “in both their lifetimes, the marble pillars of Knowle in Kent, and Wilton in Wiltshire, were to her oftentimes but the gay arbours of anguish.”¹ Through all her difficulties, however, she ever found a sympathising friend in the Earl of Bedford. By his influence, a deed of settlement was drawn in 1635, assigning to Lady Pembroke, for her jointure, various lands in Sheppy, and entirely releasing to her this 5000*l.*, together with the Westmoreland estates, if ever they should fall to her in her husband’s lifetime, as was afterwards the case. But the unhappy nature of Lord Pembroke’s disposition rendered this concord but of short continuance; as in 1638, when but just recovering from an almost fatal sickness, we find her writing to the Earl of Bedford to interpose with her lord for permission to her to come up to London, though but for ten days or a fortnight at the most, to attend to some of her affairs. “For I dare not,” she says with a simple earnestness, “venture it without his leave, lest he should take that occasion to turn me out of this house, as he did out of Whitehall; and then I shall not know where to put my head.” She was at length obliged to separate wholly from him, and his death relieved her from her thralldom, in 1649.

¹ “Insomuch,” she adds, “as a wise man (the Earl of Bedford), that knew the insides of my fortune, would often say that I lived in both these my lords’ great families as the river Rhone runs through the lake of Geneva without mingling any part of its streams with that lake; for I gave myself wholly to retiredness as much as I could in both, and made good books and virtuous thoughts my companions, which can never discern affliction, nor be daunted when it unjustly happens; and by a happy genius I overcame all those troubles, the (former) prayers of my blessed mother helping me therein.”

CHAPTER XVII.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE TROUBLES IN SCOTLAND TO THE
EXECUTION OF THE EARL OF STRAFFORD.

A.D. 1638-1641.

Public discontents . . . The king's inflexibility . . . Religious exasperation . . . Scots covenant, March 1, 1638 . . . Proceedings of the government . . . The Scotch commissioners resort to the Earl of Bedford, 1639 . . . His public principles . . . Summons of the nobility to York, Feb. 1639 . . . Test refused by the Lords Brooke and Say . . . Pacification of Berwick . . . Parliament of 1640 . . . Remonstrance of the Commons . . . Intrigue of Lord Saville . . . The Scots pass the Tweed . . . Petition of the Twelve Peers . . . Interview of the Earl of Bedford with the privy council . . . Appointed a commissioner to the Scots . . . Treaty of Rippon . . . Parliament of 1641 . . . Earl of Bedford entered of the privy council . . . Impeachment of Strafford . . . Efforts of Lord Bedford to moderate the violence of his party . . . His interview with Hyde and Essex, April 1641 . . . He sickens of the small-pox . . . His death, May 9 . . . Funeral — and character . . . Execution of the Earl of Strafford, May 12, 1641.

THE public discontents had now risen to a height that threatened the most serious consequences to the monarchy and nation. In the struggle that had for more than twelve years been steadily maintained—by the king to enforce, and by the Commons to resist, those claims to unlimited prerogative, which, if submitted to, must have bowed to the dust, in servile degradation, every institution and free usage which the people had hitherto cherished as their birthright—nothing is more remarkable than the inflexible determination with which Charles persisted in the execution of his favourite measures. Pliant, accessible, and generous in private life, he evinced in his public conduct all the sternness, selfishness, and contempt of popular opinion that had been common to

A.D. 1638. the feudal sovereigns of the Middle Ages. Construing all opposition to his will as a personal offence, his passions had become enlisted in the arbitrary warfare, and had doubtless obscured the natural clearness of his judgment. He must else have seen that a system of temperate conciliation was the only weapon he could safely employ; and that in contending, single-handed, with successive alienated parliaments, equally resolute, and equally hedged about with the defensive sanctitude of law, he was creating a gigantic foe, from whose exasperated energies there could ultimately be but one mode of escape. In the early stage of the contention, a wise abandonment of his most unpalatable pretensions would, with some disposition to fulfil his reasonable wishes, have awakened a confidence that, carefully improved, might have ripened into a mutual good understanding, for the peaceful prosecution of their common interests. But the misguided monarch, uninstructed by experience, went rashly on with his array of warrants, imprisonments, and fines; his Star-chamber visitations, and unconstitutional levies, till the envenomed wound, the wrong and the indignity, were felt in every nerve and limb of the disjointed empire. Every sign in the political hemisphere now foretold some dire convulsion. The deep, low murmur of resentment with which multitudes received the decision of the temporising judges upon the great question of monarchical taxation, bespoke, like the muttering of distant thunder, the rising of the tempest; the earth, as it were, heaved beneath his feet in warning of the coming earthquake; but Charles appeared still resolved, either blindly to disregard, or openly to defy the symptoms, until the clouds gathered, and the whirlwinds blew, the fountains of the political deep were broken up, and in the violent irruption, power and prerogative, high-commission court and Star-

chamber, crosier and crown, with all their accompaniments, A.D. 1638. were tumultuously and sternly swept away.

Yet, if the kingdoms had had to complain of political grievances alone, the day of retribution would doubtless have been much later in arriving; for a nation observant of justice, and respecting, from early inculcation, the sanctity with which even the merely colourable pretexts of law are calculated to invest a monarch's cause, would have long and seriously weighed the point at which endurance ceased to be a virtue before it started into armed action. But religious exasperation was rashly added to the ferment of the other elements of disaffection; and Conscience, nobly jealous of every act which the arm of civil power may attempt, to restrict her intercourse with heaven, came in to cut the knot, and to absolve from every fear the energetic hearts that entered on her quarrel.

From the innate character of those mixed principles of good and evil which actuate our being, spiritual religion had in every age since the rise of Christianity been subjected to persecution by the ruling powers, wherever its tenets were disseminated; but since the memorable, and, for the purity of Christianity, the absolutely *fatal*, alliance which was struck by Constantine between the ecclesiastical and civil powers, persecution had followed its victims with a much more steady, specious, and insidious aim, than under the brute violence of Pagan enmity. It would have been well for humanity and truth, if at the English Reformation the pious founders of a purer church could have taught it altogether to abjure the vindictive intolerance, as well as the errors of the Romish faith. But the maxims of a merely worldly policy had mingled with their zeal: the youthful church was not left by them, as the primitive faith had been, to stand its ground on its own intrinsic excellency; it was wedded to the worldly

A.D. 1638. pomp of state, whence it received exceeding rich immunities, which it early learned to acknowledge and repay: nor were its obligations confined merely to temporal endowments. Whilst the holy rights of free opinion shall exist, there will always be found men who stand aloof from the bosom of the predominating faith, from nobler motives than either indifference, or love of singularity; and a church that can have its acts defended, and its orthodoxy vindicated by the sword or penalties of state, must constantly yield to the temptation of calling in its succours. Neither the council-chambers of Edward, Elizabeth, nor James, were free from the deep stain of an intolerant and cruel persecution, reconciled to the originators under various pleas of safety or expediency, all equally shrewd, and equally fallacious. But the misdirected zeal of these princes was at least governed by some shew of prudence; and although both Catholics and Puritans suffered in their reigns under grievous persecutions, from the misfortune of being unable to embrace a communion of which they disapproved, neither the council nor hierarchy had required any thing like the wild conformity which Charles and his primate now ventured to impose on the dissidence of an entire people. In the whole ecclesiastical policy and principles of Laud, the Scottish nation saw the monarch's aim at civil despotism faithfully reflected; but they felt themselves still, through every variation of church government that had occurred, the disciples and the sons of Knox: with the first attempt to fix on them the canons and the liturgy of England, their ancient spirit of religious independence took alarm; and in the throe of emotion that succeeded, the champions of the COVENANT sprang forth—the armed prodigy of that portentous time.

This formidable bond of union was subscribed upon the 1st of March, 1638. The first tidings of it awakened no alarm at court, and even excited small attention. By June it was somewhat more seriously regarded; yet so little was the temper of that people, and the right means of redressing a state grievance understood, that the king, on sending the Marquess of Hamilton to tranquillise the effervescence, authorised him to insist on their renunciation of the Covenant; for which they were to be repaid by the simple suspension of the Liturgy, and a remodelling of the High-commission court. In August he was willing to give up both the one and the other; but the Covenanters had meanwhile determined on a General Assembly, and on the entire abolition of Episcopacy. In September Charles was willing that Hamilton should convene an assembly and parliament, and even limit in some respects the power and jurisdiction of their bishops. But the concession came too late; and in proportion to the facility with which it was extorted, rose their self-dependence and consciousness of strength: so that, in the assembly of Glasgow, they unhesitatingly proceeded to abolish prelacy, rescind the articles of Perth, and restore the form and spirit of their ancient presbyteries. The next General Assembly, which met at Edinburgh in the August of 1639, confirmed all the measures of the former. In the parliament that followed, Charles permitted the subscription of the Covenant, but would on no account allow his commissioner Traquair to pass the act for the extirpation of episcopacy. In the midst of the subsequent discussions, the king, without ratifying one of its provisions, prorogued the council; which did not, however, separate without appointing two Remonstrants as commissioners, the Earl of Dumfermline and Lord Loudon. They were despatched to London to beseech the monarch not to

A.D. 1639. persist in his opposition, but to give his consent to the decisions of their national tribunal.

On the arrival of the Earl of Traquair in London, both parties were heard by the privy council, and many passionate recriminations passed between them. The deputies justified the acts of their assembly and parliament, and desired their ratification, but in vain. They returned to Scotland on the 19th of November. Whilst the king was wholly bent upon the use of force, and was raising what supplies he could, by contributions from his courtiers, the same noblemen, with two other individuals, were sent upon a second deputation. They were no longer empowered to propose any thing towards a mediation, but simply to plead integrity of purpose, and to demonstrate their fidelity.

With this commission, however, they joined other aims and ends. Fully sensible now that arms must try the quarrel, the Covenanters looked around on all sides for aid against the day of peril. Holland furnished them with officers and arms; and applications were made to the King of France for succour, in a letter signed by several of the nobles. A more legitimate field for the extension of an interest in their behoof, lay open amidst the malcontents of England. There they found, from the oppressed of all classes, the sufferers by fine, by levy, and imprisonment, sincere sympathy, if not open encouragement. The Puritans, smarting under oppression, felt their own cause bound up in the approaching strife, and responded affectionately to every appeal made to their judgment or their feelings. The admirers of the ancient republics began to dream of Spartan days about to be revived; and all the political opponents of the system of misgovernment—even those who were most purely patriotic, hoping that the ordeal through which the

king must pass would purge away his most pernicious principles—gathered secret trust from the conjuncture, and daily resorted to the commissioners, with either courtesies or counsel. To all it was the care of the commissioners to listen with attention, to seize and to comment on every topic of discontent, and to hold out, especially to their brethren of the faith, large and religious promises of happy times in store. A.D. 1639.

Amongst those whom they particularly courted were the Earl of Bedford and his compatriots—the Lords Say and Brooke, the noble-hearted Hampden, the sagacious Pym, the Earls of Essex and Holland, and the stern St. John. These were bound together in the most intimate and confidential trust, pursuing, from different motives, the same common object—a remedy for the grievances and evils that distracted their unhappy country. By no unworthy impulse, by no private aims, not even by any view of personal aggrandisement at court, which Clarendon and others have ventured to impute to him, was the Earl of Bedford influenced in his clear and open course. If, as this eminent historian writes, “he possessed too great and plentiful a fortune to wish for a subversion of the government,” the prizes of a court, where Laud bore undisputed rule, tincturing every theme upon which his councils touched with a lordly tyranny insufferable to the generous and free, could furnish no incentive to the ambition of a mind like his. Power could have no other temptation to him than as the means of arresting the dangers which beset the monarch, and of this there was unhappily but little hope; for the oppressions of the Commission-court, Star-chamber, and ship-money, were still ostentatiously continued, with the intent of shewing that Charles abated not a tittle of his claims, notwithstanding the popular commo-

A.D. 1639. tion. In Clarendon's words, this was intended "to look like steadiness!" The Earl of Bedford, according to the testimony of the same writer, was no Puritan; he had no desire for any alteration in church government. Towards Laud himself, whilst deprecating his intemperate and untimely innovations, he had lived on terms of perfect courtesy and respect, frequently visiting, occasionally dining with him, and subscribing liberally to that rebuilding of St. Paul's, which the Puritans disliked so much, as an ornament savouring of Popish superstition. To the non-conforming ministers, it is true, he offered small discountenance, for his soul was as expansive as his fortune, and he thought not a whit the worse of a virtuous man whom he saw pursuing his way to the land of happiness and peace by a different pathway from that which he preferred. He was no indiscriminate opposer even of the king's pretensions. Admiring, from long study, the well-balanced frame and beauty of the British constitution, in which the three distinct estates, when acting in due subordination to the well-being of the whole, found harmonious exercise and play, he could be called unfriendly to the crown's prerogatives only when they tended by a wild excess, as now, to trench upon the privileges of the two other branches of the state, to impede their salutary operation, and thereby to endanger the existence of the government itself. This claim of prerogative he undeviatingly opposed; but his wise moderation, even when excitement and passion were at the highest, "was known to all men;" and to this rare and valuable quality, in a distempered crisis, the courtly annalist bears unaffected record.

The armed attitude which the Scots began now to assume, confirming the king's resolution to decide the quarrel by the sword, he, on the 15th of February, 1639, issued letters

to all his nobility, to attend his standard at York upon the 1st of April, with such equipage and forces as their birth, honour, and interest in the commonalty, obliged them to.¹ If, as Clarendon assures us, Charles “relied on the imposing pomp of his splendid cavalry, the flower of the English nobility and gentry, and the number of his troops, to awe the Scots into submission, he was resting his hopes upon a broken reed;” for “I never before,” says one of his own cavaliers, “saw such a despicable appearance of men in arms to begin a war; to me they seemed little better than a rabble, met together to devour, rather than fight, for their king and country. There was indeed a great appearance of gentlemen, and those of extraordinary quality; but their garb, their equipages, and their mien, had not the appearance of war; one regiment of Finland horse would have made sport of beating them all. There were, besides, such crowds of parsons (for this was a church war in particular), that the camp and court were full of them: we saw nothing but bishops, courtiers, and clergymen.”² The disposition which animated many of his attendants was likewise so equivocal, that Charles was driven to the extraordinary expedient of a military oath to test their fidelity and zeal. This was a subscription to a solemn protestation of obedience and loyalty, as a pledge of their abhorring the proceedings of the Covenanters, and of being unconcerned in any correspondence with them. The mistrustful inquisition was met as it deserved by two of the summoned noblemen, whose Spartan candour and fearlessness on the occasion have won for them, as may be supposed, no favour from the exclusive partisans of royalty. The Lords Brooke and Say openly refused, in the king’s

¹ See them in Rushworth, vol. i. part 2, p. 818.

² *Memoirs of a Cavalier*, pp. 186, 190.

A.D. 1639. presence, to sign this declaration. "If the king," they said, "thought proper to suspect their loyalty, he might proceed against them as he thought most fit; but it was obviously against the law to impose oaths which the law did not enjoin; whilst, being ignorant of the laws of Scotland, it was impossible for them to decide whether the Covenanters were or were not rebels." On the king's calling to their remembrance how the Scots had seized his forts and castles, they still undauntedly replied, "that as they knew not the constitution of that government, so they could not judge them."¹ Not less indignant at this open slight of his power than fearful of the effect which it might have on his whole army, Charles immediately ordered them to be put under arrest, and wrote to Windebank, his secretary, to ascertain of the attorney and solicitor whether the two lords could not be proceeded against criminally, for thus refusing to serve him in his wars, although out of the kingdom, when he offered them sufficient pay.² The secretary replied in a high strain of courtly indignation at the insolence of the two recusants, and promised that the council should consider whether "their jesuistical and cunning answers, clearly enough expressing their malignity and aversion to his service, did truly amount to a refusal."³ He was afterwards constrained to admit that no hold could be taken of their replies; but with all the wily fraud of a state lawyer, he urged the monarch to consider whether they might not be entangled in the meshes of the law by their oversight in some *other* point of conduct, or of duty.⁴ Apparently the

¹ Warwick's Memoirs, p. 148.

² From Alnwick, at ten o'clock at night, April 21. Clarendon's State Papers, vol. i. p. 38.

³ *Ib.* p. 41.

⁴ Windebank to the king, May 21. *Ib.* p. 45.

king was unable to do this; he found, too, that their credit A.D. 1640. was more raised than their liberty abated by the restraint he had put upon their persons,¹ and he accordingly thought to free himself from their annoying presence by dismissing them to their own homes. They went—but the impression of their act remained behind; for those who had willingly subscribed *this Covenant* of royalty, now signed another explanatory paper, declaring the sense in which they had accepted it. The previous subscription was thus rendered valueless. A fatality attended the whole enterprise,—the royal forces *faced* the other army,—it was all they did. A treaty of pacification, that left unsettled all the great points of contention, terminated the campaign, “which, like a short truce, only gave both sides breath to prepare for a new war, more disastrously managed than the former.”

Dispirited and disappointed, Charles unceremoniously dismissed his feudal army. The sole resource that appeared left to his distracted councils, was the adoption of a measure from which his heart recoiled. But there was no alternative; and after a twelve years' cessation of the measure, he convoked a parliament. It met on the 13th of April, 1640; the lord keeper Finch, in a long pedantic speech, explaining to the Commons the reasons which had led the king to summon them. In a style that afterwards found too many imitators, he complained that certain “men of Belial, some Zeba, had blown in Scotland the trumpet of sedition, and taken up arms against the Lord's anointed, seizing on the trophies of honour, after the counsel of some wicked Achitophels, and investing themselves with regal power and authority :”² for warfare against whom he urged the speedy granting of

¹ Warwick's Memoirs, p. 148. ² Cobbett's Parl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 530.

A.D. 1640. supplies, pawning the king's solemn word to give them time for the presentment of petitions and for general discussions. Whereupon the monarch laid before them the Scottish noblemen's intercepted letter to the King of France, signed, amongst others, by the Lord Loudon, whom, notwithstanding the ambassadorial character in which he appeared, he forthwith committed to the Tower. The Commons seemed to take in no good part the lord keeper's dictation of the order of their proceedings; for they fell first to the consideration of their wrongs,—and upon this inexhaustible topic, Mr. Pym, who in this parliament sat with Lord Russell as member for Tavistock, descanted ably for two hours, classifying his observations under the three great heads of grievances against the liberties and privileges of parliament, innovation in matters of religion, and injuries against property; all which, he conceived, would disable them from administering any supplies, until they were redressed.

Under the warm impression excited by his powerful speech, they proceeded to various matters connected with the violation of their parliamentary privileges. Repeated messages during the debates came from the king, to hasten the supplies, and the lords were induced to join in the request, that these might have precedence of consideration. The interference but confirmed their resolution to proceed as they had begun; and Charles finding them refractory to all his wishes, put a speedy period to their consultations by an abrupt dissolution of parliament, on the 5th of May. In a long declaration to his subjects he set forth his reasons for this step. But all the true friends of the monarchy were filled with gloom at the intemperance of the measure; whilst those who saw legibly that only some severe reverse could

rouse the monarch from his dream of power absolute, might A.D. 1640. say with Saint-John, when (with trouble on his brow) Mr. Hyde discoursed with him on the affair, “that it was all well; for that matters *must* be worse before they could be better,”—a state to which they were fast tending. And, indeed, the day after the dissolution, on a mere suspicion that Lord Brooke held a correspondence with the Scots, warrants were issued by the council for searching his study and his person; but the great crisis was principally hastened by secret intrigue, in which the Earl of Bedford was made an innocent participant.

Upon knowledge of the severity practised against Lord Loudon, the Scots had conceived additional resentment. And they wrote to their agent in London to ascertain what friends they might certainly depend upon, in the event of their resolving to invade England.

This letter was sent to the Lord Saville, who employed his secretary, Darley, to sound the most popular of the commoners and lords. Darley was particularly instructed to engage, if possible, the Earl of Bedford in the scheme, from his vast influence with others, and the strong hold which he had upon the affections of the country. But though he began by throwing out the question merely as a hypothetical case, the earl was startled at the dangerous proposition, in every point of view so foreign to his thoughts, and, not without shew of offence, forbade all mention of it: the Earls of Essex, Brooke, and Warwick, the Lords Say and Mandeville, shewed similar disapprobation of the project. Saville, finding it impracticable to gain these noblemen, and aware that the Scots would not pass the borders without a full engagement from persons of greater interest than himself,—deeply discontented with the state of things in England, and

A.D. 1640. bitter in his dislike of Lord Strafford, one of the three by whose sole advice the government was now directed, drew up a specific declaration of support, to which, with infinite skill, he forged the names of all these noblemen.¹ The Scots were satisfied with the agreement, passed the Tweed and Tyne, and in the victory at Newburn, August 27th, set their first seal upon the civil conflict that deluged England for so many years with blood.

The royal army retreated to York. Charles had still a good army, though maintained at great expense; insomuch that the sums he raised on loan were soon exhausted, and he was driven to the greatest exigency. In this dilemma, the Earl of Bedford, and eleven other peers, addressed to him, upon the 28th of August, their memorable Petition, pressing on his serious consideration the evils that impended over their country. They set before him clearly the discontent of the whole kingdom from the innovations in religion; the employment of Catholic recusants in places of power and trust; the mischiefs that would inevitably arise if he should carry into effect his rumoured intention of bringing in the Irish forces; his continued demand of ship-money, and prosecution of the sheriffs who refused to levy it; the pressure upon trade from such a multitude of monopolies; and, lastly, the long intermission of parliaments, and his late and former dissolutions of them. For a remedy, they besought him, “in all humility and faithfulness,” to call another parliament, in which these grievances might be redressed, the authors and counsellors of them submitted to legal trial and appropriate punishment, and the war be composed without any farther bloodshed.²

Whilst this petition was under the king’s consideration,

¹ Carte’s Hist. of England, vol. iv. pp. 293, 4.

² See the Petition, in Cobbett’s Parl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 585.

the Earl of Bedford's sense of the vast importance of the crisis, as it might affect the stability of the throne, and tranquillity of England,—with the sword of civil war already drawn upon the northern frontier,—led him and the Earl of Hertford to a step, which patriotic anxiety for his country's welfare could alone have urged them to adopt. They went to the Lords of the Council, sitting then at Hampton Court, and endeavoured to induce them to join in the petition for a new parliament, as the only means of averting the frightful perils that approached. It is to be regretted, that no other account of this interview exists but that which was given to the monarch by the courtly pen of the state secretary; but even in the colours with which he paints the conference, his letter will be read with interest.

SECRETARY WINDEBANK TO THE KING.

It may please your Majesty,—The last night, by the ordinary post, I gave your majesty account of what passed in council at Hampton Court, with intention to acquaint your majesty with the business of this day, which I shall now presume to do.

The Earls of Bedford and Hertford have been heard this day at the Board. The Earl of Hertford was the speaker, and made known to the lords, that in the present common danger they have lately sent a petition to your majesty; that they had now brought the like, desiring the lords to join with them in it, with this protestation, that if the lords would not join, these two lords and the rest must wash their hands from those mischiefs that were otherwise like to fall upon the state. The petition being read, which agreed wholly with the copy in my lord privy seal's hand, the lords desired them to withdraw; and, after a short consultation, appointed the lord keeper, earl marshal, Lord Cottington, and myself, to repair to them, and confer with them. The earl marshal began and told them, my lords had sent us to confer with them as friends, and to communicate to them freely their sense of the petition. But, first,

A.D. 1640. my lord desired to know their intention, seeing the petition seemed much different from that which—the report was—they had presented to your majesty; there appearing nothing in it but a heap of complaints, without any offer of service or assistance to your majesty in this common danger, which yet, the common opinion was, they had freely tendered. They both protested, in the first place, that they were employed by those that did put them in trust, only to present the petition to the lords; and therefore desired that whatsoever they should answer might be understood merely as from private persons, and not obliging or conclusive to any other. Being then asked who those were, they said, many other noblemen, and most of the gentry in several parts of the kingdom. But to the question concerning their intentions, they both vowed they had no other end in the petition but your majesty's service and the public good; that, though your majesty should deny their petition, they would be ready to serve you with their lives and fortunes, without condition; that there were sundry grievances that lay heavily upon them and the people, which hindered them from being able to serve your majesty as they desired; that they had presented this petition for the removing of those impediments, and to enable them the better to serve your majesty; that they were only messengers, and put in trust by others, and therefore desired my lords to confer with some of those others who were best able to express their own intentions. My Lord of Bedford still inclined to be understood as a private man; and in that quality made great professions of his loyalty and readiness to serve your majesty, but still feared to be disavowed. But my lords told them that, if such were their intentions, they had very ill luck in the manner of expressing them, seeing they seemed in their complaints rather to join with the rebels, (whom yet they had not termed rebels, but the Scotch army), besides the indecency and unreasonableness of the petition, to press their grievances when your majesty and the kingdom were in this strait, and in danger to be overrun by a rabble of rebels; that the conclusion of the petition seemed most strange, and could not but give great encouragement to the rebels, in desiring that they might join in the reformation of religion; that in these distempers my lords of the council had not slept, but had been

advising upon some quick remedy in this extremity ; and therefore, A.D. 1640. if these lords would have acquainted them with their purpose, they would have joined with them in the end, though not in this way ; and therefore desired them to make good their professions in proposing somewhat that might tend to the public peace, wherein they promised to join with them. To this they replied, that when their petition was agreed upon, which was the 28th of August, they did not know the Scots had invaded England ; and if they had heard of the taking of Newcastle, they would not have consented to the delivery of it ; that, for remedy to the present troubles, they had no commission to present any, but, as private men, they thought a parliament the best. But my lords telling them the danger is present and imminent, and cannot stay for a parliament, they said they were of opinion that the very summoning of a parliament would so win the hearts of the people, that they would cheerfully come in to his majesty in this action. My lords asked them what they thought of a general meeting of all the peers in council to advise what is to be done in this exigence : they answered, still as private persons, that such an assembly, as it might be ordered, might be to very good purpose ; but if it should be intended exclusive to the Commons, or to raise monies any other way than by a parliament, it would give no satisfaction. Being asked, whether they had received any answer from your majesty to their petition, they said no. Being desired to deal clearly with the lords, whether they knew of any Covenant here in England, to be sworn to, like that of Scotland, my Lord of Hertford vowed he knew of none, and did detest it. The other denied the knowing of any, but more faintly. They were likewise charged with the divulging of their petition, and that copies of it were frequent in town, which they protested was not justly to be imputed to them. This is the sum of the conference, which, being reported to the Board, the lords thought fit to amuse them no longer, but to acquaint them with your majesty's answer to their petition, for the calling of the peers to York upon the 24th of this present, referring them more particularly for answer to their own messengers. This my lord marshal declaring to them, my Lord of Bedford, in some passion, interrupted him, and told him if any report had been made to the Board of any thing passed in that conference, which was under-

A.D. 1640. stood otherwise than from private men, he for his part utterly disavowed it.

I humbly crave your majesty's pardon for this length, and leave to rest

Your majesty's most humble subject and servant,

FRAN. WINDEBANK.¹

Drury Lane, 7th Sept. 1640.

The king, in returning this letter to the writer with his own brief comments, as was his practice, directs the secretary to assure the two earls that there was no thought of *excluding* a parliament; and adds, “but ye tell not whether they submitted, or formalised upon my calling of the peers to York.” To which Windebank replied on the 11th:—“If the two lords had absolutely formalised upon your majesty's calling of the peers to York, I should not have failed to have clearly represented it. But this I did express, that if the calling of them were intended in exclusion of the Commons, or to raise monies any other way than by parliament, they were of opinion that meeting would be fruitless. The Earl of Bedford seemed not to like it so well as the Earl of Hertford; and I have heard since, he hath let fall such discourse against it, as it is very likely he will use all the art he can to hinder it. Howsoever, I understand the Earls of Essex and Hertford purpose to pass from hence towards York on Monday next, and Sir Francis Seymour with them.”

This assembly met at York upon the 24th of September. In his opening speech, the monarch stated that he had issued writs for a Parliament; and in the meantime, he desired their advice on the answer which it befitted him to give to a petition from the “Rebels,” and on the proper mode of providing for his army, till he should receive supplies from

¹ Clarendon's State Papers. vol. ii. p. 110.

parliament. The petition of the Covenanters, being read, A.D. 1640. led naturally to proposals for a treaty. To treat with those whom he had denounced as rebels, must have been somewhat grating to the monarch's sense of dignity; but his wants were peculiarly pressing, and it appeared evident that the fidelity of his army could by no means be depended on. He assented, therefore, to the measure; and appointed the Earl of Bedford, and fifteen other peers, his Commissioners to manage it, being all men of moderation, and well esteemed by the Covenanters.

Nothing could exceed, however, the astonishment of these, when they found that the very noblemen on whose concurrence in undertaking the invasion they had relied, were the very parties now employed to treat with them for peace. Accordingly, when the first civilities at Rippon between the commissioners were over, the Lords Johnstone and Loudon required a private conference with Lord Mandeville, with whom they entered on a sharp expostulation, charging him, the Earl of Bedford, and the rest, with their breach of those articles of promise which alone, he said, could have induced them to invade the kingdom. Lord Mandeville, in great amaze, protested his own ignorance of any such engagement, and his confidence that the rest of the accused were equally strangers to it. He was at first thought to be prevaricating; and Loudon urged it as an act of great ingratitude to men who had hazarded so much upon the faith of their engagement. The articles, he was reminded, were subscribed with their own hands, and sent to Scotland by Lord Saville, who would undoubtedly confirm the truth of what they stated. Saville being accordingly introduced, on a renewal of the charge, with great confusion in his look, confessed the forgery. He acknowledged that he had never acquainted

A.D. 1640. any one of those lords with the least particular of the written articles ; but knowing it a thing impracticable to gain them to the project, he had preferred to take a step which might subject him to their censure, rather than lose the advantage of an invasion that might be the instrument of redressing the public disorders. By means of it, he urged, all England had now hopes that effectual redress would be obtained ; and as the enterprise had been so far successful, what better policy could they pursue than to keep the intrigue still secret, and act with unanimity and vigour for the lasting advantage of the two kingdoms ? Justly incensed as both parties were at the disclosure of this treachery, they did not think it prudent, in the present critical position of affairs, publicly to testify their displeasure,—the circumstance could have no influence on the present negotiation. The Scottish lords undertook, therefore, to explain the transaction to their countrymen, so far as to vindicate the honour of the several noblemen concerned ; and Lord Mandeville¹ demanded delivery of the declaration and engagement : the first was given up, but the latter was retained, with the exception of the simulated names, which were cut off from the instrument, and committed, in his presence, to the flames.²

The demands of the Scots ran high, and much time was spent in settling conditions, the negotiations being secretly thwarted by Cardinal Richlieu. At length a cessation of arms was determined on, a point fixed for the boundary of both armies, and a contribution agreed to for the maintenance of the Scots' forces, until a general treaty should be made by the parliament at Westminster, whither the negotiations were accordingly transferred. The episcopal

¹ Afterwards created Baron of Kimbolton.

² Carte, as before.

party and the Earl of Strafford, in reference to this arrangement, protested to the king that it would have been better to have decided the question by the issue of a battle. But Charles, considering the stop which it put to the effusion of blood, and the temper which many in his army had evinced, when they declared “that they would not fight to maintain the pride and power of the bishops,” was sensible that a more advantageous conclusion could not reasonably be expected. For in his speech to the lords, at the opening of parliament, he vindicated the commissioners from blame, declaring, that it was not possible for them to do more ; and that he, therefore, thanked them for their pains and industry, as men who, if their power had but equalled their affections, would have brought to a happy period the distempers which they had had under consideration.¹ A.D. 1640.

In his first conduct towards this parliament, Charles manifested some appearance of sincerity, and the Commons evinced their satisfaction with it by the subsidies they granted him. Still, however, they kept their eyes deliberately fixed on the permanent redress of wrongs, the prevention of grievances in future, and—it would have been well for the cause which they espoused, if we could avoid adding—vengeance for past injuries. Whilst the Lords proceeded to the vindication of their privileges, violated in the person of Lord Brooke, the Commons moved strong resolutions against ship-money, and the insults offered to the members of preceding parliaments. Before the indignant oratory of Pym and others, the government secretary fled ; and by flight the lord-keeper shunned the consequences of his impeachment, more fortunate in this respect than Laud and Strafford.

¹ Cobbett's Parl. Hist., vol. ii. p. 639.

A.D. 1640. The judges themselves were not exempt from the probing inquisition of this now august tribunal, and entered into large recognizances to abide its judgment for the misdemeanours charged against them. Under the fear inspired by these spirited proceedings, the other great officers of the court began to tremble; Bishop Juxon tendered the resignation of his treasurer's staff; Lord Cottington his post in the exchequer; and, struck at length with a salutary warning, Charles could not avoid the admission, that it had become dangerous to serve him, in the course which his predilection for undisputed sway had led him to prescribe. He yielded to the just impression; with some few signs of lingering regret, he passed the "Act for preventing the too long intermission of Parliaments:" he offered to amend the forest-laws; and, as the hemisphere darkened around Lord Strafford, came to some determination to adopt a real change of councils, and to fill up the vacant places in his court with the most popular and estimable men in both houses of parliament.

Having declared his intention of reforming all excesses in the church and state, he judged that such a step would be accepted by the people as a satisfactory proof of his sincerity; but it is not to be questioned, that the strongest argument that swayed him to this declaration lay in the hope he entertained, of saving, through the ministry which he might form, the life of the attainted earl. The members of a privy council that would be acceptable to the nation, might be gathered from a recent resolution of the House of Lords. So highly had they estimated the service rendered to the cause of constitutional freedom by the Petitioners at York, as to have voted, that "for the honour of the twelve peers who subscribed it, it should, with their names affixed,

be made the act of the house itself, by record on their journals ; and that its thanks should be offered for it, as being just, legal, and good, both for the king and kingdom.”¹ Guided, doubtless, by this resolution, the monarch caused the Earls of Bedford, Hertford, Essex, and Warwick, the Lords Kimbolton and Say, to be sworn of his privy-council, to the infinite joy of the people ; and to their number were added the Earl of Bristol and Lord Saville. A.D. 1641.

These noblemen appear, during the short time in which they exercised the privilege of their appointment, wisely to have inculcated on the royal mind the necessity of being guided, in the general scope of government, by the sense of the people, as it might be evidenced by the votes of the two houses of parliament ; a principle, the soundness of which has long been recognised, but which was then so ill understood as to be strongly censured by Lord Clarendon.² When the articles against Strafford were sent up to the House of Lords, the king threw out stronger hints than ever of his intention to claim the ministerial services of Lord Bedford and his friends. He laid out the vacant treasurership for the earl, the chancellorship of the exchequer for Mr. Pym ; the Lord Say was then to be master of the wards, Denzil Hollis to be secretary of state, Hampden, tutor to the prince, and care was to be taken to satisfy the Earl of Essex, Lord Kimbolton, and others, whose adherence at that time might probably have been secured. In the conferences that attended these contemplated arrangements, the Earl of Bedford sought to confirm the monarch in this better bias, by every persuasion which his long study of the constitution and enlightened wisdom could suggest. He promised his best efforts to

¹ Lords' Journals, vol. iv. p. 189.

² History of the Rebellion. Folio, vol. i. p. 157.

A.D. 1641. induce the more violent of Strafford's enemies to be satisfied with a less bitter penalty than death; and to procure the revenue of the crown to be settled as amply as that of any of his predecessors on the throne: "the which," says Clarendon, "he intended so really, that to my knowledge he had it in design to endeavour to obtain an act for the setting up the excise in England, as the only natural means to advance the king's profit." The fact is farther borne out by notes which the earl has left in one of his many books of miscellanies, and entitled; "An estimate of what might be yearly made unto his majesty of the existing duties, if they were settled by act of parliament."¹ But as he was utterly averse to sanction by his official countenance any exercise of the prerogative of which he and the body of the nation, on constitutional grounds, had previously disapproved, he declined to accept the Treasury, until a bill legalising the levy of tonnage and poundage should pass the parliament; and in this principle Mr. Pym and his other friends entirely concurred. The king was not displeased with this hesitation, as he desired to have a *pledge* from the popular party, that Strafford's life should certainly be preserved, before he gave himself up to the policy prescribed by his new counsellors. It was by advice of the Marquess of Hamilton, jealous of a rival influence, that this condition was thought to have been insisted on. "Great pity," at all events, "it was," says Clarendon, "that the king's design was not fully executed, that he might have had some able men to advise and assist him, which it was believed these would have done, after

¹ The result of his calculation was, that by the abolition of patents and monopolies alone, there would be an annual increase in the revenue of 52,995*l.*; leaving an advantage of 36,400*l.* above that which the late king enjoyed.—*Bedford Papers.*

they had been so thoroughly engaged ; whereas, he had none A.D. 1641.
left near him in any great trust, except a very few about his person, who did not betray or sink under the weight and reproach of it.”¹ All that Charles actually did, was, at the Earl of Bedford’s desire, to make Oliver St. John solicitor-general ; but the delay of carrying the whole scheme into effect so far disoblged some of the party, particularly the Earl of Essex, as to deepen their resentment against Strafford, and to quicken the proceedings of parliament in his attainder.

It had not, however, this effect with the patriotic Earl of Bedford, who, “as he had in truth more authority with the violent of his party than any body else, laboured heartily that the earl’s life should be secured ;”² hoping that some expedient might be found that would satisfy alike the ends of real justice and the national displeasure, either by exile, imprisonment, or by declaring him incapable of any farther public service. The earnestness of his endeavours is attested both by his keeping secret the plot to bring down the northern army, in order to overawe the deliberations of parliament and rescue the prisoner by force, and by his interview with Mr. Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon. It was in the afternoon of the day on which this gentleman had so ably acquitted himself in a conference with the Lords, upon the proposed abolition of the Presidency of the North, that Mr. Hyde went to Piccadilly, which was then a house for entertainment, with gravel walks and trees for shade, and an upper and lower bowling-green, to which the highest personages condescended to resort, for exercise and conversation. The Earl of Bedford, seeing him come upon the ground,

¹ History of the Rebellion, vol. i. p. 167.

² Ib. p. 189.

A.D. 1641. advanced to him, and after some compliments upon his message in the morning, said, he was glad of his arrival, as there was a friend of his in the lower ground, who needed his good counsel. Lamenting the misery that was likely to befall the kingdom, by their violence and want of temper in the prosecution of their own happiness, he observed, that the Earl of Strafford's business was a rock on which they all should split; and that the passion of the parliament would quite undo the kingdom. The king was ready, he said, to do all they could desire, if the Earl of Strafford's life might be spared, being well satisfied that he had proceeded so much more intemperately in many things than he ought, as to have disqualified him from all farther usefulness in his affairs; that the monarch was therefore well content that the accused should be declared incapable of employment for the time to come, and banished or imprisoned for life, at their discretion. If they would even by their own judicatory take his death upon themselves, the sovereign would interpose no act of private conscience as a barrier; but as this was declined, and it was decided to proceed by act of parliament, to which himself must necessarily be made a party, it would be inconsistent with his conscience ever to give his consent to the earl's death, having heard nothing proved in the whole course of the trial by which he could believe him a traitor, either in fact or intention. His majesty did therefore most earnestly desire that he might not be put to the pain of giving a negative to the bill, which he neither could nor would consent to. Now though, Lord Bedford observed, he himself was satisfied so well in his own conscience, that he believed he should have no scruple in giving his vote for the bill pending in their house, yet he knew not how the king could be pressed to do an act

so contrary to his conscience. For his own part, he was taking all the pains he could to persuade his friends to decline their violent prosecution, and be content with the remedy proposed; which he thought might be rendered so secure, as to quiet all apprehensions of the earl's ever taking any future part in the public business. The work of persuasion was indeed most difficult; but, notwithstanding, he should not despair of success, if he could but induce the Earl of Essex to comply, whose obstinacy was unhappily so great, that he had not yet been able to move him in the least degree. He had but now left the Earl of Hertford walking with him in the lower ground, who would, he was satisfied, do all in his power to bring his brother to a milder humour; yet he desired Mr. Hyde to walk down thither also, and take his turn in persuading Essex to listen to reasonable counsels. A.D. 1641.

The Earl of Essex had once been favourably disposed towards the court; but his unceremonious dismissal, on the disbanding of the northern army under his command, without the usual acknowledgments, when he had committed no false step in council or action, was supposed to have weakened his devotion to it; and the unreasonable refusal of some slight favours that would have infinitely pleased him, following this ungracious conduct, had stung his spirit to the quick. Parting now from the Marquess of Hertford, he accosted Mr. Hyde, and said jocosely, that the latter had that morning done a service which, he knew, he little intended; for by his speech against the Northern Presidency, he had revived their displeasure against Strafford, so that he hoped they should now proceed vigorously in the attainder. Mr. Hyde said, that of a truth that was no part of his design; on the contrary, he hoped that what he then

A.D. 1641. said might induce them to proceed in another course. Their disagreement upon the point of treason, was, he knew, the cause of their late slackness, and this, he was persuaded, would occasion them more difficulties, the more it was considered ; but if that were once given up, unanimity would be obtained, and all parties would agree to inflict on the offender such a censure as would absolutely deprive him of all power to injure either the kingdom or his present enemies. Essex shook his head ; and, thinking that, whatever other punishment he should receive, it would be remitted by the king whenever parliament were dissolved, answered pitilessly, “ Stone-dead has no fellow.” Shortly after, when Mr. Hyde afresh expostulated with him, urging the injustice of disallowing to the king the exercise of those conscientious scruples to which they themselves laid claim, Essex, with some warmth, gave this farther answer—that the king in conscience was obliged to conform himself and his opinion to the advice and conscience of his parliament ; and so their conference closed.

It is impossible, however, to say what might not have been accomplished with even this stern and stubborn malcontent, if, feeling so deeply as Lord Bedford did, the paramount importance of reconciling the king to his parliament by such an act of grace, he could have continued to devote the energies of his head and heart to the kindly act of appeasing the violence of his intemperate friends. But at this very crisis he fell sick. His own, as well as his country’s misfortunes, seem to have pressed heavily upon his mind. On receiving tidings of the death of his son Francis, which had occurred at Paris but a month before, he told Dr. Cademan, one of his physicians, “ that four fair oaks of his had lately been blown down, as it were, altogether ; and on

this subject made so moving a lament, as to prove that their A.D. 1641.
removal took deep root in his thoughts.”¹ He complained that he found his own health somewhat shaken; and to lessen the force of coming sickness, desired to resume a medicine that had gently cured him of an illness the preceding year. But neither this nor the other remedies resorted to gave him any relief; and in a few days Lady Brooke, his daughter, observed upon his person an eruption of red spots, which proved to be the small-pox. “Whereupon my lord, who ever considered others’ safety before his own content, with extraordinary earnestness forced his dear lady and children, much against their will, to leave him.”² His most intimate political friends, however, could not be restrained from visiting him; and to one of these he again expressed his prophetic fears, that the rage and madness of this parliament would bring more prejudice and mischief on the kingdom, than it had ever sustained by their long intermission.

In conformity with the mistaken, and often fatal, practice which then prevailed in the treatment of the disease, the earl was confined closely to his bed, even when his fever was at the highest; and of this he shortly felt the ill effects. To a faithful servant he confessed that he was so weary of his bed, that he feared it would be his grave, exclaiming, “I fool away my life to please the physicians;” and when these again forbade his rising, he sighed out farther to Dr. Cragg, “Well, then, I will die to observe your rules.” Hence Dr. Cademan, who appears to have advocated a different treatment, afterwards declared, in a printed pamphlet, his opinion, “that the earl died of too much of his bed, and not of the small-pox. For, till Saturday night (the 8th of May), I am sure

¹ ² “The Earl of Bedford’s Passage to the highest Court of Parliament.”
4to. London, 1641.

A.D. 1641. he had no sign of danger, as that *then* there was no hope of life,—nature having given over the field to devotion, which came in, so armed and invincible, as I never saw the like, though I have waited upon many who had no other business of life than to die well. Commending his body to be buried with decency, but not pomp, his breath was spent before his hands and eyes ceased to be lifted up to heaven, as if his soul would have carried his body along with it.”

Thus, upon the morning of the 9th of May, 1641, died Francis, known to his contemporaries by the title of “the Wise Earl of Bedford.” Every one but the most furious partisans of monarchy received the tidings with inexpressible regret; and the House of Lords, upon the following day, recorded on its journals their sense of the great loss which they had especially sustained. Nor was this the only public mark of respect which they shewed to his memory; on the 14th, the day appointed for his funeral, most of the house of peers, with their servants, attended at Bedford House, to the number of three hundred coaches,¹ to accompany the body to its last home. After remaining awhile there, the coffin, overlaid with lawn, being put into a chariot, covered with black velvet, and surmounted with four plumes of feathers, the whole mournful procession moved along. First came four gentlemen, each with a black rod in his hand, followed by thirty in sable; then another carrying his banner, preceding six-and-thirty more. To them succeeded two with white rods in their hands, another with a banner displayed; then Dr. Burgess, followed by two squires; four heralds in their coats; the Garter King-at-arms; the coaches, with two gentlemen on each side of every coach, bearing banners,—

¹ Harl. MSS. Cod. 477. Journal of John More, Esq.

succeeded by fifty other carriages with six horses in array, A.D. 1641. and all the rest in due heraldic order.¹ With this melancholy pomp they proceeded on the road to Chenies; and there, after the celebration of the usual service, the mortal remains of this great earl were consigned to the vault of his forefathers, amidst the tears and prayers of the assembled multitude. A stately monument is erected to him in the adjacent chapel. His countess, Catharine, survived him till the 30th of January, 1657, when she was laid beside him in the same depository.

The character of the fourth Earl of Bedford may be gathered sufficiently from even this brief memoir of his valuable life. The only foil which even Clarendon casts upon it, is couched in the opinion, that if he had lived he might possibly have been drawn by irresolution from his wonted moderation, into those more violent councils which afterwards led to such disastrous excesses. Archbishop Laud, inimical to him from this very moderation, indulged in some uncharitable and unchristian reflections on his memory after his decease, which the statements of Clarendon shew to have been wholly undeserved. The mantle of Laud would almost seem to have fallen upon Mr. Lodge. Besides labouring to prove the archbishop correct in his assertions, he has attached to his memoir of the earl some singular observations, the application of which it is difficult clearly to understand. "This nobleman," he says, "in the furtherance of his view" (to make himself and his friends great at court), "carried himself towards the king with the most profound respect, and with all professions of loyalty and zeal for his service; and contrived to live in a decent and grave familiarity with the ministers, while in parliament he decried their measures

¹ Journal of John More, Esq.

A D. 1641. and their motives with the utmost eagerness. So, too, with regard to ecclesiastical matters. In fine, he had the fortune to live in an age when patriotism was less frequently professed than practised, and may perhaps be properly esteemed the main inventor of a method of opposition too familiar to us of later days, but which then charmed some by its novelty, and others by its apparent impartiality, while it gained some credit with all parties, because there had not yet been time to detect its selfishness and insincerity." The shaft concealed in this fanciful hypothesis,¹ whether levelled at the assumed insincerity of the earl's desire to maintain the integrity of the just rights of the crown whilst he sought to consolidate the nation's liberties, or at his imagined dexterity as the leader of a faction swayed only by motives of personal aggrandisement, falls harmless from a reputation based upon unsullied candour, and a rectitude which only a distorted vision could so misrepresent. To question the disinterestedness of a St. John, or a Saville, instrumental as they became, after the death of this nobleman, to the success of measures that pushed the power of parliament far beyond its legitimate sphere of action, may be permitted to a partisan of royalty; but honour will have lost its meed, and virtue all security, if the character of a patriot, who advocated no public measure that encroached upon the just rights of the crown; and, in listening to overtures that would have given that crown the benefit of a constitutional administration, compromised no one principle of the many that endeared him to the people,—is to be thrown

¹ Even if these ascribed motives for the Earl of Bedford's conduct were correct, which we must deny, Mr. Lodge would be in error in the point of fact. The first instance in English history of any king's advancing a man on account of parliamentary influence or interest, and opposition to his measures, was the preferment of Sir John Saville, a zealous opposer of the court: he was made comptroller of the household by James I.

from the high pedestal where it was placed by opposing contemporaries, to suit the calculations, or gratify the party feuds of after and far distant ages. A.D. 1641.

A splendid full-length portrait of the fourth Earl of Bedford, in a dress and mantle of black, with light hair, and short peaked beard, is at Woburn Abbey, painted by Vandyck in 1636, in the 48th year of the earl's age. The head has been engraved by Houbraken, and again, more recently, for the "Illustrious Portraits." Of his countess, Catharine, daughter of Giles Brydges, third Lord Chandos, two fine portraits also occur at Woburn, both by Cornelius Jansen.

The first is a very curious picture. It represents her in a scenic dress, as a performer perhaps in the Masque presented before Queen Elizabeth, at her father's house at Sudely. She is habited in a gown flourished over with rich ornaments, and a red mantle, her hair flowing in loose luxury below her waist, and a pearl coronet or crown upon her head. The second presents her at a more mature age—a full-length figure, in black, with roses in her hand, and sprigs of lily-flowers at her breast, and in her hair.

The Earl of Strafford was beheaded on the 12th of May. The removal of these two great men seemed to operate almost as a prelusive signal for the civil rupture that so soon ensued. From the execution of the one the king conceived grief, resentment, and an impatient hatred of the influence that kept his will in check; from the death of the other, the parliament, in the person of its leading spirits, felt in a manner freed from the curb that had restricted its advancing claims; and, like a vessel that is cut from some safe anchorage, drifted abroad with its crew, upon the dark and ruffled deep, in search of new treasures on an untried shore.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FROM THE EXECUTION OF THE EARL OF STRAFFORD TO THE FIRST
SECRET TREATY WITH FRANCE.

A.D. 1641 — 1674.

William, fifth Earl, 1641 . . . Carries the Five Propositions to the king . . . Sides with the parliament . . . is made General of Horse . . . Besieges Sherborne Castle, 1642 . . . Compels the Marquess of Hertford to retire into Wales . . . In the battle of Edge Hill, October 23 . . . His efforts for a treaty of pacification, 1643 . . . overruled . . . He is prevented by intrigues from throwing himself upon the army of the Earl of Essex . . . Joins the royalists at Oxford . . . His reception . . . In the battle of Newbury . . . Retires to his own house . . . The king at Woburn Abbey, 1645-7 . . . Rejection of the army's propositions, 1647 . . . Commonwealth . . . Francis, Lord Russell, 1653 . . . Mr. William Russell, 1658 . . . Restoration . . . Correspondence with Lady Vaughan, 1667 . . . His marriage, 1669 . . . Enters upon public life, 1672 . . . Family of the Earl of Bedford.



THE House of Lords, upon learning the loss it had sustained in the person of Earl Francis, sent a deputation to visit his son, with the expression of its desire, “ that he would repair to them as soon as his sorrow would give him leave, for that none could supply so well the place of his deceased father.”¹ Lord Russell had been returned with Mr. Pym for Tavistock to the new House of Commons ; and, although he does not appear to have taken part in the great debates with which the session had commenced, we find him frequently selected to communicate the messages of the Lower to the Upper House.² In the sphere to which he was now called, the example of his father pointed out his path of action ; and his

¹ Lords' Journals, vol. iv. p. 242.

² *Ib.* pp. 169, 226, 233.

own deliberate sense of the necessity of perfecting the reforms A.D. 1641. upon which the parliament had entered, influenced him to the temperate advocacy of those principles which were expressed in the energetic petitions of the people, as necessary for the permanent settlement of their liberties. On the 17th of May, when he first took his seat in the House of Peers, his name was added to all the standing committees;¹ and, assisting constantly in the business of the house, he was honoured with several parliamentary appointments in the course of that important session.

He was on the committee for considering the expediency of disbanding the two armies,² which were yet continued at a vast expense, and for settling the accounts depending between the Scots, and the counties occupied by their army. And when the Ten Propositions on the general state of the kingdom were delivered to the king, the earl, after a delay which was borne somewhat impatiently, was one of the peers deputed to move him for his reply to the important article which prayed that his evil counsellors against whom there were any just exceptions, might be dismissed for such as the country could confide in.³ The intervention, although managed with great caution, particularly the terms of the request, which sufficiently recognised the sovereign's exclusive right of choice in the formation of his ministry, was received with some resentment; the king protesting that he knew of no ill counsellor around his person, and that he should look for none to be so unadvised, as by slanders to deter any whom he trusted from giving him as free advice as the right of speech which parliament uniformly claimed from him, and which he never had refused. In this prelude of bold

¹ Lords' Journals, vol. iv. p. 251.

² *Ib.* p. 254.

³ *Ib.* p. 306.

A.D. 1641. demand and stately replication, the humour of both parties was significantly displayed. The concessions, sparingly reciprocated between them, had brought but little alleviation of harmony or confidence. To the parliament as to the nation, it was evident that every advantage this had gained was wrung from the unwilling court by pressing exigence alone. At each fresh grant to the national will, the king ostentatiously set forth its merits; the Commons only cared to weigh his need. They acknowledged not the grace of such merchant-like enhancements to his gifts, and adjusted the scales of compensation with an equal scrupulosity of feeling. The monarch expected perfect satisfaction with these grants; the Commons fresh security that they would never be reclaimed: and thus, as the natural fruit of such timorous peace-offerings, the honourable conditions that should have cemented an indissoluble compact, were degraded to the level of a pitiful and thankless bargain. No wonder that, in despair of ever fixing the exact vibration of the balance, the sword of Camillus was finally flung into the scale.

The jealousy of parliament was powerfully kept alive, by intelligence of the plot for bringing the northern army to London, which was now disclosed in all its terrible minuteness of detail. When, therefore, Charles signified his intention of visiting Scotland, and the queen's of going into Germany—as the former would have to pass through the troops of both nations, and the queen might scatter discontent, and gather succours from abroad—a thousand vague alarms were raised; and petitions were voted from both houses, praying them to defer their meditated journeys, which the Earl of Bedford and a few others were instructed to convey.¹ The queen, to whom they expressed all imaginable duty and

¹ Lords' Journals, vol. iv. pp. 314, 350.

respect, yielded gracefully to their wishes, after a slight A.D. 1641. demur, and was repaid by the grateful thanks of parliament, and the settlement of her jointure. The king remained inflexible to their solicitations; yet he yielded assent to the Five Propositions, of which the earl and his companions were the bearers, for security against the spiritual host of Jesuits and Papists. To avert the other apprehended danger, both armies were hastily disbanded, and commissioners appointed by both houses to attend the king upon his journey, ostensibly to present from time to time the desires and counsels of his parliament, but in reality as a watch or check on his proceedings. The earl was one of the lords selected for this charge; but on pleading the great private occasions that required his attention, he was excused from the invidious office.¹ As the public animosities increased, he endeavoured to keep the middle course of constitutional safety. He would join neither in infringing the rightful power of the Lower House, nor in trenching on the monarch's clearly defined prerogative; being one of the six peers who entered their protest against an order of the House of Lords relative to some matters of religion that were not submitted for the approval of the Commons;² and refusing equally, as a peer, to join these in their petition for displacing the lieutenant of the Tower, which he regarded as an interference with the king's appointment of his officers.³ But the tide of mutual aggression between the parliament and king henceforth set in so strongly as to overbear the power of neutrality, and to compel even men of the happiest moderation to side with one or other of the two exasperated parties. The daring act of Charles, in impeaching Lord Kimbolton and the five popular members of the Commons, contributed more than any other thing to

¹ Lords' Journals, vol. iv. p. 362.

² Id. p. 395.

³ Id. p. 490*a*.

A.D. 1641. bring all disputed questions to an armed decision. This step was taken in pursuance of the rash counsels of the fiery Lord Digby, who, from being one of the most eloquent op-pugners of the court, had veered round to the king's service during the trial of Lord Strafford, and was now become a chief protagonist of his declining cause. The Commons set the impeachment at defiance; sent a remonstrance to the Lords, accusing Digby of being occupied in raising soldiery in Surrey; arraigned him of high treason; and the Earl of Bedford, his near relative, in being called to act on the committee that examined witnesses against him, had his patriotism put to a strong test. It was perhaps the first marked prognostic of that mental strife which was soon destined, in so many cases, to separate the private ties of consanguinity and friendship. There wanted now but watchwords to consummate party rage; and these were furnished by the cry of "Cavalier and Roundhead" that rose in the riot near the houses of parliament. Blood was spilt in that tumultuous affray: a guard was demanded by the parliament; the debates on the militia increased the ferment; and on the 22d Aug. 1642, the royal standard was raised upon the walls of Nottingham.

To every true lover of his country this state of things presented but a choice of evils. In the measures of both parties, the Earl of Bedford must have seen much to disapprove; but his early predilections, and his more mature considerations were in favour of an extension of true liberty; and as he anticipated greater good to his country from the temporary triumph of the Commons, than the uncontrolled dominion of the king, he did not hesitate to take his first stand in arms upon the side of parliament. To raise the Devonshire militia was the service now assigned him; and he entered on it with the greater vigour, from an impression

shared by many other leading men, that Charles, if he beheld A.D. 1642. the parliament in arms, would not venture to take the field; and that hence a treaty must ensue, which would be founded on the broader basis, the greater the number of men of rank and influence whom the monarch saw opposed to his principles of government. Hence the earl subscribed duly to the fund first raised by parliament, though with less ardour of feeling than his brother the Lord Brooke; and taking the Covenant prescribed for the occasion, accepted its commission as general of horse under the Earl of Essex.

At the head of a small force, he was sent down to oppose the Marquess of Hertford, who was prosperously engaged in raising troops for the royal army in the west. The marquess had his station at Wells in Somersetshire, and was attended by some troops of horse-dragoons raised by Sir Ralph Hopton, some infantry of Colonel Lunsford's, and by various gentlemen of the ancient families in the county. But all the later gentry, who had raised large fortunes by the manufactures of that clothing district, were fast friends to the parliament. Before the undisciplined numbers which they drew together, the marquess retired into Dorsetshire, throwing himself and his adherents into Sherborne Castle; whither, also, before the Earl of Bedford could arrive from Wells, came Sir John Berkeley, Col. Ashburnham, and other good officers, with three hundred foot. The Earl of Bedford was attended by Sir Walter Earl, Mr. Hollis, and Lieutenant Essex, a soldier who had reaped some reputation in the wars of Flanders. He had four pieces of cannon, eight full troops of horse, and seven thousand new recruits, which he encamped in a field north of the castle. Whilst lying there, he received a challenge from Lord Hertford to a duel, which he is reported to have temperately declined, but to have pro-

A.D. 1642. mised to accept it when the service of the parliament would give him leave. He found the castle infinitely stronger than had been represented, so that small impression could be made by his insufficient ordnance, whilst his raw recruits, unused to the hardships of the camp, upon the first play of artillery from the castle, deserted in great numbers. He therefore, after a fortnight spent before the place, retired to a neighbouring village, till his troops, diminished now to 1400, could be reinforced. He was attacked in these quarters by the enemy on the 6th of September, and a smart action followed, in which the earl was victorious, and which he has described in a letter to some peer in town. When read in parliament, it was welcomed with great joy, and immediately ordered to be printed.¹

This overthrow, and the news that Portsmouth was rendered to Sir William Waller, induced Lord Hertford to withdraw his shattered party from the castle, in all haste. Followed hard by the Earl of Bedford, he reached Minehead, and crossed over into Wales, sending Hopton and some others to prosecute the enterprise in Cornwall. Lord Bedford, thinking that these fugitives might be easily coped with by the sheriffs, and satisfied with having destroyed every present hope of raising an army in those parts, rejoined the Earl of Essex; who, in his disposition on the evening of October 23d for a general engagement with the royalists at Edge Hill, assigned to him the charge of the reserve of horse. In this memorable conflict, the earl is reported by Lord Wharton “to have done extraordinary service.”² It was, in fact, his movement with this *corps de réserve*, which saved the

¹ “Exceeding joyful news from the Earl of Bedford’s army,” 4to. London, 1642. It has been reprinted by the Duke of Bedford, in his “Catalogue of Enamels at Woburn Abbey.”

² Cobbett’s Parl. Hist. vol. ii, p. 1498.

parliamentary army from total defeat; for, on noticing the A.D. 1642. route and flight of Essex's two wings, "he brought up very gallantly," amidst the play of cannon, with Sir William Balfour, his lieutenant, and Sir Miles Stapleton, his central troop of horse, which, falling with impetuous fury on the rear and flank of the king's foot (the horse being engaged in the chase of fugitives), altogether wrung from Prince Rupert the advantage he had obtained. Night put a friendly close to the havoc of this first field of civil strife, leaving it undecided which party had won the unenviable laurel. The events of a few months, however, rendered the predominance less doubtful. Besides the successes of the royalists in the two fights of Stratton and Lansdowne, Bristol was taken by them, and Gloucester was laid siege to.

The Earl of Essex was disheartened by his own small progress, and began to be earnestly disposed for an accommodation; and in this desire all the more moderate patriots who sided with the parliament seriously participated. Their expectations of a quick decision by the sword had been disappointed, and a frightful prospect to their country lay before them, if the conflict were prolonged. Amongst those of the House of Peers who on these grounds were strenuous for a treaty, was the Earl of Bedford. To the pain with which he contemplated the public disorders, was added the pungency of private sorrow, his uncompromising brother, the Lord Brooke, having been killed by a shot whilst taking possession of Lichfield for the parliament. The earl laboured, therefore, earnestly for peace; but the republican party, dreading a compromise that must diminish their new power, became daily more imperious, and spirited up Sir William Waller and Lord Manchester against the Earl of Essex. This did not deter the Lords from their resolution

A.D. 1643. to attempt a reconciliation; the Earl of Bedford continued his assiduous exertions, and, chiefly, as it is said, by his instrumentality, some highly reasonable propositions were delivered in, to be sent to the monarch, as the basis of a treaty for peace. By these both armies would have been disbanded, the king have been entreated to return to parliament on satisfactory securities, and religion would have been settled, with the advice of a Synod of Divines, as he and the two houses should appoint. The militia was proposed to be settled by a bill, and with the forts and shipping to be put into hands appointed by the king, but subject to the approbation of both houses. The royal revenue was to be restored; the members of both houses who had been expelled for absence only, or on mere compliance with the monarch's requisitions, were to be restored; delinquents up to the 10th of January, 1641, were indeed to be delivered up to the justice of parliament, but a general pardon for all others upon both sides was to be extended, and an act of oblivion declared for past hostilities.

The Commons shewed a strong disposition to concur with the Lords in forwarding these temperate propositions; which they would undoubtedly have done, if the more violent amongst them had not formed connexions with the Scottish Presbyterians that were too dangerous to be avowed. To cut off, therefore, every hope of accommodation, they caused supplies of all kinds to be voted to the army, and the Earl of Manchester to be made general of the associated counties. Notwithstanding which, Lord Bedford and his friends must have eventually succeeded, had the Earl of Essex been but true to his engagement, and the parliament been left to its unrestrained deliberations. But Pennington, the lord mayor, who was in the councils of the wilder party, raised and

headed a tumultuous assemblage, which, pouring down to A.D. 1643. Westminster, excited so furious a clamour against all pacific measures, that the Earl of Bedford and his friends not only perceived their efforts hopeless, but had even some misgivings of their personal safety. His hopes of peace thus vanishing, disgust at this species of control succeeded to regret; so that, with sad forebodings of the result of the strife, he threw up his commission, and with the Earls of Clare, Holland, and some other peers, prepared to join Lord Essex. The intention was suspected; Essex was plied with the most nectared flatteries and promises, provided he abstained from all intercourse with the seceding party. He had not virtue to withstand the lure; the three earls in his weakness saw their own insecurity; and thereupon, instead of repairing to the army, resolved to throw themselves upon the king. With some difficulty they reached Wallingford. The governor of the garrison applied to Charles for his instructions in the case, and the monarch, learning that his privy council at Oxford were greatly disunited in opinion as to the reception that should be given them, hastily left Gloucester to be present at their consultations.

Nothing could be more unfortunate for the welfare of the three kingdoms than the failure of the late negotiation. "Without doubt," says Clarendon, "if the propositions had been sent, a firm peace had immediately ensued; for if a treaty and cessation had been entered on in that conjuncture, no extravagant demand would have been pressed, but only a security for those who had been faulty, which the king would gladly have granted, and most religiously observed." Had the earls received encouragement to reach the army, they had intended to protest against the violent breach of privilege that had been offered to the Upper

A.D. 1643. House, and their own want of legislative freedom ; by means of which they trusted to have drawn the houses to consent to such an agreement as the king would have well approved of, or to have themselves entered on a treaty with him, under which all the moderate part of the kingdom would have been glad to be comprehended. Had the patriotic wish succeeded, what ills and horrors would not have been spared ! But the hesitation of Essex disconcerted all ; and henceforth the violent party, disencumbered of the influence most opposed to its excesses, carried every thing before it with a high, a haughty, and unrelenting hand.

It might naturally have been supposed, that the seceding earls would have been received with open arms by the royalists at Oxford. But Party, in such times as those, looks upon all virtue except its own with a suspicious eye ; and it was the king's misfortune, at that moment, to be served by disputatious officers, as well as a disjointed council. Of the latter, some had thought that all favour should be shewn the fugitives, as a means of disengaging others from the parliament ; but many had insisted on a harsher course, urging the scandal which they had thrown upon the royal cause : these argued, that as their good or ill reception could have no influence now upon the parliament at Westminster, so a cold reserve to them could be productive of no inconvenience ; and that to shew countenance to men who had cast off their allegiance, would render the observance of untainted loyalty of no price or merit. They accordingly advised the exclusion of the high delinquents from even the presence of the king, till they had expiated their crime by proofs of clear affection ; some were for attaching them as prisoners. Between these extremes there was a third opinion,—that they should be neither courted nor neglected, but be admitted to kiss hands and to dispose them-

selves as they thought fit, whilst every thing else was left to A.D. 1643.
their subsequent demeanour. When Charles came to Oxford the discussion was renewed. Chancellor Hyde (afterwards Lord Clarendon), and Lord Saville, were now the only persons who had the discretion to advise their being well received; the rest exaggerated the ill consequences of their conduct, and even affected to dread the disturbance that might follow, from the challenge formerly given by Lord Hertford. "It cannot be expressed," says the royal historian, "with how much earnestness and unreasonableness the whole was debated; and how warmly even they, who in all other debates still expressed all moderation and temper, did now oppose the receiving of these lords with any grace." The king saw the danger of yielding to a spirit so intemperate. He gave permission for the lords to come to Oxford; but the court was left at liberty to shew them just what civilities they pleased; and he stated that his own and the queen's conduct should depend entirely on circumstances.

This cold compliance, next to their case admitting of the least debate, was excessively unpalatable to the three lords. The Earl of Bedford, however, being sincerely disposed for a reconciliation of all parties, came to Oxford, had his introduction, gave in an explanation of the motives of his past conduct, and took out his pardon under the great seal. As the siege of Gloucester still continued, he offered his services in the war, which were accepted; and at the battle of Newbury "charged with bravery in the king's own regiment of horse, and well behaved himself throughout."¹ He returned to Oxford with the king, who nominated him in June one of the commissioners to settle the government and liturgy,²

¹ Clarendon.

² Rushworth, vol. ii. Part III. p. 337.

A.D. 1645. and from whom he continued to receive occasionally similar tokens of civility, but great disdain and disrespect from the courtiers who prided themselves on a monopoly of loyalty. It was not in the nature of Lord Bedford long to brook such conduct. He saw that the queen and her faction were determined to take revenge on all who had opposed them; and considering that his dignity and safety would be best consulted by retiring from a court which seemed incapable of discriminating between the real friends and enemies of the constitution, he rejoined, on Christmas-day, the Earl of Essex at St. Albans, leaving the very apologists of the monarch to lament an error which caused him to be henceforth regarded as implacable, and which led others who abhorred the violence of parliament rather to yield allegiance to it than expose themselves to the annoyance of a similar rebuff. Of this number was the earl's son-in-law, Lord Hay,¹ now, by the death of his father in 1636,² Earl of Carlisle, who had hitherto taken a cordial part in the king's proceedings, and had sat in the parliament of Oxford, where, with his brothers-in-law, Francis Newport, Esq. and Colonel Russell, he had subscribed, on the 27th of January in this year, the well-known letter to the Earl of Essex.³

The parliament had visited the defection of the Earl of Bedford by a sequestration of his estate, which continued till the fight of Marston Moor, in 1644; when, being inspired by success with a more genial humour, the sequestration was ordered to be taken off. On the 17th of April, 1645, the Earl of Bedford, with the Earl of Carlisle⁴ and four other peers, who had come in from the king's quarters, appeared once more in parliament, and took the covenant before the

¹ Whitelock, p. 83.

² Sidney Papers, vol. ii. p. 453.

³ Rushworth, vol. ii. Part III. pp. 566, 575. ⁴ Whitelock, p. 145.

A.D.
1645-7.

commissioners of the great seal—the only compliance which Lord Bedford made with the faction he had abandoned. He sat no more in the House of Peers after this, nor took much farther part in public affairs until the Restoration; but retired into private life, consoled by the reflection that he had endeavoured, under every change, to do his duty to his country. His example was imitated by many of the wisest and best subjects in the kingdom. Charles lived to be sensible of the injustice of his former demeanour to the earl, and more than once visited him in his retirement. In 1644 he passed a night with him at Woburn Abbey, in his route from Aylesbury, intending to proceed to Bedford; but this course not seeming prudent in the morning, he removed to Leighton Buzzard. In August, 1645, the king again became his guest, when on his way from Wales to Oxford; and a third time on the 24th of July, 1647.

A darker change had now passed over the fortunes of the monarch. He had been delivered by the Scots to the parliamentary army, whose quarters at this moment were at Bedford. But the jealousies between the army-officers and parliament were the means of his being treated at this time with great consideration. The external observances of royalty were every where paid him: his friends had still access to his presence; his correspondence with the queen was not yet interrupted; and his chaplains were restored to him. Dr. Hammond, one of them, came forward now to Woburn Abbey, with the Earl of Cleveland and several other noblemen, in order to receive him with befitting honour. He appears to have remained nine days at Woburn; it was an interesting crisis of his fate; for the proposals of the army were here submitted to him, previously to their being offered to him in public. They were much less rigorous than the conditions

A.D. 1649. of the parliament. The council of officers insisted neither on the abolition of episcopacy, nor the punishment of his faithful partisans, the two points to which he had ever objected the most strongly. The earnest efforts of the Earl of Bedford were not wanting, at this juncture, to close by accommodation the gap of civil discord; they were, however, ineffectual. In his confidence that all parties would at length be obliged to have recourse to him, as the only remedy for the public disorders, Charles overlooked the possibility of a more violent solution of the problem. On the 2d of August he rejected the proposals, and removed to Latimers, near Chenies. In the few years of severe adversity that intervened between his departure from Woburn Abbey and his execution, all the brighter and better features of his character came out, to relieve the shades by which his prosperity had been obscured: and admiration and pity cannot but attend his memory, during this, the sunset of his moral story. It was on the 30th of January, 1649, that the national annals were stained with his judicial murder.

During the commonwealth and protectorate, the Earl of Bedford found an agreeable relief from the distractions of the times in the bosom of his family, which consisted of seven sons and three daughters. The two eldest of these, Francis and William, first present themselves to our attention.

Francis, Lord Russell, was born in 1638; William, on the 29th of September, 1639. After a preparatory course of education, under the excellent John Thornton, the earl's domestic chaplain, they were sent to the University of Cambridge, in 1653. Their tutor there was Mr. Nidd, who, in an account of their studies to the earl the following year, commends their progress in logic, the Latin historians, and natural philosophy. When their education was completed,

they were sent upon their travels, in company with Mons^r. A.D. 1656. de la Faisse, a Protestant gentleman of merit, who conducted them through France, Switzerland, and part of Germany to Augsburg, where they made some considerable stay. Previously to their setting out, the earl addressed to them a letter of unexampled beauty, containing, under various heads, advice for their whole conduct, admirably adapted for the formation of a finished character, studious to fulfil every personal, relative, and social duty,—a letter which reflects as a mirror the rare virtues of the writer, and which may be referred to with pride by his posterity, as an enduring legacy of greater lustre and more intrinsic value than any gem in his transmitted coronet. In this he endeavours to mould their minds “to glory, honour, and immortality,” now by exquisite strokes of wisdom and sagacity appealing to their judgment, and now by the most pathetic touches of parental feeling, addressed to their affections.¹ Lord Francis, from the prevalence of a melancholy temperament, which, as he grew up, settled into an utter disrelish of society, seems to have been little able to requite his father’s cares. He parted from his brother at Augsburg, in the summer of 1657, and for ten years sought by change of scene from the German to the Italian cities, and from Italy to France, to divert the sluggish current of his humour: ten more were spent without memorial in congenial privacy, and in 1678 he died, unmarried, at the age of forty-one.

In William, however, who afterwards became so deservedly dear to the nation, the father’s fondest hopes were gradually realised. Travel accomplished in him its proper end; his observation was quickened, his knowledge of men and manners deepened and enlarged, and his aim at excel-

¹ It is printed in the appendix to Lord J. Russell’s *Life of his Ancestor*.

A.D. 1656. lence in every thing he undertook was kept in perpetual play, till it settled into that generous ambition of distinction which is the genuine parent of heroic actions. It is to be regretted, that his numerous letters to Mr. Thornton, with whom he kept up an active correspondence on his travels, are lost; that gentleman describes them as “fraught with choice descriptions, and observations clothed in a style so free, masculine, coherent, and exact, as would not (flattery apart) have dishonoured the greatest masters of eloquence.” At Lyons he had the fortune to meet the celebrated loadstar of the north, Christina of Sweden, who attracted to that city, whilst she stayed, a galaxy of rank and beauty that dazzled his imagination. In a few decisive strokes, he sketches to his friend the impression made upon him by the Arctic heroine. “I wished you a sight truly of the Queen of Sweden, who surely deserves admiration, if any woman does; I do not mean for the beauty of her face, but for the majesty that appears in it, as likewise in all her actions and comportments, which savour far more of a man than of a woman, which sex she resembles in nothing more than in her inconstancy. For in truth, I conceive her to be as weary of her new religion as of her old one, as is plainly seen by her postures, gestures, and actions at mass; before which, I think she would at any time prefer a good comedy, and a handsome witty courtier to the devoutest father.” It is impossible to say what influence this interview may not have had on the military fancy that possessed him, after he had been a little time at Augsburg. For, hearing that the King of Sweden had some commanders of consideration at Ulm, alluring to their ranks the German youth, he suddenly resolved on seizing the occasion, for extending his range of travel and taking part in the exer-

cises of the camp. But when he came to Ulm, he found that A.D. 1660. the officers were not the King of Sweden's, but the emperor's. He abandoned, therefore, his design, but not his inclination for the Swedish wars. In the winter of 1658, which he spent at Paris, when some preparations were making by England to assist the Swedes, he meditated a fresh enterprise; and it appears from one of Mr. Thornton's letters, that the earl countenanced it, by furnishing him with some fine horses and a splendid suit of armour.¹

His military passion, wherever it was exercised, was happily of but short continuance; for the Restoration being meditated in the following year, he was hastily summoned home by his father. The earl is stated to have liberally, though secretly, supplied Charles the Second with pecuniary aid during his exile; and he now heartily concurred in every prudent measure to forward his recall.² Hence,

¹ An interesting portrait of him at this time, in armour, painted by Claude Lefevre, was recently presented to the Duke of Bedford by Mr. J. Palmer, late of Goldington. A corresponding one of his brother Francis, by the same artist, the gift of the Rev. S. Hillyard of Bedford, also occurs at Woburn Abbey. They were both probably sent as presents to Mr. Thornton; as Mr. Russell, in one of his letters from Paris, speaks of having had his picture taken for this purpose.

² The following letter to the earl, from Dr. Hammond, written on the 27th of March, 1660, soon after General Monk's dissolution of the Long Parliament, congratulates him on his release—from the recognizances, perhaps, into which he had been compelled to enter when his estates were restored to him:—

“ My Lord,—It was a most happy and welcome allay to all the ugly votes that came out, in such haste, before the dissolution, that your lordship's liberty was one; and indeed one that nearly relates to me; being (that) a member of that assembly and the council of state, having, in all the many years that he was thus dignified, never had any one act that he could mention to me, as soon as this was passed, wrote very obligingly to me to signify it, and to ask whether I would not now have a good opinion of them. My Lord, though many things look inauspiciously enough, yet I am very willing to interpret this as a good omen, that your lordship's release, sent you from Heaven, may be a forerunner of halcyon days again to this poor church.

A.D. 1661-7. in resuming his place amongst the peers, upon an invitation from the house through the Earl of Manchester, its speaker, he took an active share in those conferences for the settlement of the kingdom which preceded that event. At the solemnity of the coronation, in 1661, he carried St. Edward's sceptre; and a few years after, namely, on the 29th of May, 1672, was elected a knight of the Order of the Garter.

Upon the restoration, Mr. Russell was returned to the new parliament as member for Tavistock: and being in the heyday of his youth, he mixed with ardour in the gaieties of the reviving court, not without being entangled for awhile in some of its prevailing dissipations. A passionate attachment, however, to the lady who became his future wife, soon freed him from the pursuit of these illusory pleasures. Rachel, the youthful widow of Francis, Lord Vaughan,¹ eldest son of Richard, second Lord Carberry, was the second daughter and coheirress of Thomas Wriothesley, the virtuous Earl of Southampton. From her mother, Rachel de Rouvigny, a French Protestant, who was known in youth by the title of *La belle et vertueuse Huguenotte*,² she inherited considerable personal attractions; and from her father a copious fund of sound and sterling sense,—which, combined with a rare assemblage of those sweet and winning virtues which unaffected piety had engrafted on her native disposition, gave a tone of exaltation to her character that was early noted and appreciated by her various friends.

Lord Russell saw, conversed with, and became quickly

I have now one request to your lordship, which my letters never presumed before to tender, that you will bestow your fatherly benediction upon those that desire it here, particularly on your most obedient and humble servant,

“H. HAMMOND.”

¹ Arms; *Or*, a lion rampant *gules*.

² Strafford Papers, vol. i. pp. 334, 337.

VAUGHAN.



enamoured with the object of their commendations ; the A.D. 1667. period is not clearly ascertained, but it was some time probably in 1667. His first advances to her were marked by great timidity, which might possibly be heightened by the consideration of their inequality of fortune, his elder brother being yet living ; and Lady Vaughan was by no means hasty in entertaining the idea of a second connexion. It is interesting to trace, by the few relics that remain, its gradual progress. To the remarks of one of her friends, on his attentions to her in their early stage, she thus replies : — “ I read all your advice with great deliberation, which I think due to it, and, when I find it agrees with my own sense, am pleased ; for if it did not, I should be just, and endeavour to convince myself ; but I dissent not, unless as your wishes are particular, my inclinations are not so yet : and let town interpret as they will, I am sure Mr. Russell cannot say, and be just to me, that I ever gave him, in words or actions, reason to believe they are ; but so handsome a respect, as I do own he has expressed to me, deserves all the civility I can give and not deny. But my heart, I find, will not be easily engaged to any, but keeps at farthest distance from those that are extravagant in their professions and proceeding, which to me myself appears ridiculous. Now, you may see, madam, unless I can think it wisest to alter my condition once more, I can please myself in that I am, which is yet very easy to me, except when a little vexed with these humbles ; yet sure there is desperate hazard in the other. If I love once, I shall do so ever. If some that do pretend it now are sincere, they who can so soon love may as soon do the contrary. I tremble at a light inconstant heart ; and do indeed at all times tremble, when I consider seriously of the action which makes the greatest persons miserable, and the meanest happy, if two suitable dispositions meet ; but this is a felicity I know not

A.D.
1667-8.

why I should expect, when so few find it who deserve it better.”¹

The deep respect that continued to temper his hopes, after her sentiments towards him had appeared no longer equivocal, is obvious in the following letter : —

MR. RUSSELL TO LADY VAUGHAN.

Had it not been for fear of troubling your ladyship with that which I could not at all think worthy of your acceptance, I had before now, and without being quickened thereunto by so great a favour and honour as a letter from your own hand, made bold to send a few lines to present my most humble duty and service to your ladyship, and render you most humble thanks for the great demonstrations of kindness you have been pleased to shew me. I have so deep a sense of them, and am so sensible of the obligation your ladyship has laid upon me by them, that I long to make in exchange some acknowledgment of gratitude, which would better answer, and be more suitable to the receipt of so great favours than I am in a capacity of doing ; having no other way to make known to your ladyship my thankfulness than by a few ill-penned lines, which, were they never so well written, yet would they fall short of representing to the life the acknowledging sense I have of your ladyship’s goodness towards me. Wherefore, madam, all that I can is, that having not at all merited so great a happiness and honour as to possess a place in your ladyship’s memory and good affection, but looking upon it merely as an effect of your kindness to me, I think myself engaged, as much by duty as inclination, to be, during life, &c. &c.

W. RUSSELL.²

Another unpublished letter, in which incidental mention is made of her admirer, manifests the continuance of Lady Vaughan’s caution : it furnishes one of the best specimens of her lighter style of writing.

LADY VAUGHAN TO LORD CARBERRY.³

Yesterday I said as you do, and a great many others did, ’twas a very dull time ; but I change my note with the new day, being

¹ ³ Devonshire Papers.

² Bedford Papers.

waked with a letter from my Mr. ——; and I will tell you I can find A.D. 1668.
 in one of them charms enough to make me good-humoured all the day. One I read yesterday morning had not the same influence upon me; but I had so much eye upon all the company I saw that day, that it would have been, of a dull one, the pleasantest scene to an understanding party that could be imagined; but there was none but Noel¹ could see into the millstone: but to the point. You must know that a great many in the town say Syd.² is married to the countess; and you must know, too, that some days past he did give a touch of some sentiments (I thought he would never have done) to one of the ladies — you shall guess which — but I will personate her at this time; whom he led by the hand, and, after some impertinent questions, whether she would be at home, and when, he said he had a favour to ask, but with so much disorder, that she, quickly suspecting, said, he had made an ill choice to ask any from her, since she was never fortunate enough to do any body a favour in all her life. He assured her it was, now, and if she were not compassionate, he was more unfortunate than ever any was. She desired not to hear of misfortunes she could not remedy; nor could endure a secret, if none but she must hear it, for it was desired so. Some more short questions and answers passed, though they (as these perhaps to you) appeared long to her; to whom the last sentence was, that he hoped it was not so unreasonable to beg leave to tell her what he had to ask. She told him, no: she believed he understood himself and her too well to ask what was not fit to grant, and then he need not fear a denial. He said, dying men had ever liberty to speak their minds. Nay, said she, now I understand you less than I did, being very dull at a mystery; and so came to the coach. Since this, the coast was clear—no more words; but on Monday, late at night, a porter left a letter, which yesterday morning I read; and met in the afternoon a very melancholy gentleman, in very strict mourning, for his niece! both in habit and humour doleful.

¹ Lady Elizabeth Noel, her sister, afterwards Countess of Gainsborough.

² Robert, brother of Algernon Sydney, the *beau Sydney* of Grammont.

“And little Syd., for simile renowned,

Pleasure has always sought, but never found.”

Dryden's Essay on Satire.

A.D. 1668. Mr. R(ussell) was there at cards, who, I dare say, saw some resentments not usual in two parties, and did the whole observing part of the company; but no opportunity could she get to speak to the knight-errant, till upon the stairs, coming to the coach. The dialogue would be too tedious, considering all I have said already; but he concluded himself miserable, and she resolved in the case. So it rests, with—a quiet night on both sides, I believe. This I intended you a notice of, though I had not received your letter, which yet obliges me the more to do it; and here, my lord, I could exceed the rapture of these passionate pretenders, in the sense I have of your obliging favours to me; but as I am sensible, so I am grateful, and so I beseech you let that suffice, and my default in expressing it do me no wrong in your thoughts. You bid me be positive if I like, or not, Mr. Ru(ssell) being with you where we are. I will tell you what I meant to have done, if you had not sent to me to know; that is, to have asked the favour you would not invite him; but if he comes of himself, let it fall out as fate designed it. And I sometimes think this may be enough still; for he says, though it be worse than death, if it displeases me extremely, he will never trouble me more. If so, it will not me, to see him; so I would not rob you of your friend, nor any of you of the divertisements of an addition of good company. One week more I shall see how he proceeds here, and give my account. I have not seen Lord —— a great while. Some of his engaged friends tell me, 'tis great respect makes the distance, which I am very well pleased at, and care not how many observe his method of proceeding; by which you may believe, upon what account soever *he* you give the title of friend to, went into the country, it was not disapproved by me, who could suffer his absence much oftener than he consents I should, say I what I will.

I am, &c. &c.

R. VAUGHAN.

This was apparently written in 1668; and, under a grateful sense of some fresh indications of her favour, Mr. Russell thus addresses her:—

MR. RUSSELL TO LADY VAUGHAN.

The kindness you have been pleased to shew me at several times, obliges me to seek out all ways of testifying to you some

acknowledgments of gratitude; and therefore I hope you will excuse me, if, having no other means to do it, I trouble you with a little scribbling, to let you know how much I am your servant, and how sensible I am of the obligations you have laid upon me. I could heartily have wished for some good occasion, whereby I might have better certified you of the truth of what I say, by real effects than by my pen; but not having been so happy as to find out any, I am forced to make use of the only way I can in absence have recourse to; lest you should think me unmindful of the receipt of so many favours and expressions of love, as you have had the goodness to honour me withal. I confess that the small haste I have made to acquaint you with this truth, may justly have caused you to imagine something to the contrary, although I have not been guilty of it; for I assure you that it has not been for want of inclination to render you my respects, that I have deferred thus long the giving you most humble thanks for your manifold kindnesses and testimonies of affection; but only out of fear not to be able to do it as it ought to be, and in regard I have thought that all that I can write is not able to express to the full the deep sense I have of your forementioned favours, nor make known unto you, but in part, how much I am, &c. &c.

A.D. 1669.

W. RUSSELL.¹

The long hesitation that had occurred,—the natural result of that innate consciousness of value, “which would be wooed, and not unsought be won,”—must, by this time, have given to each party that intimate acquaintance with the other’s character which would render perseverance upon his part but a pleasing duty, and an increasing sensibility on hers, a tribute due to his merit and devotedness. At the commencement of 1669, her ladyship’s partiality was obviously the subject of permitted raillery to her friends. “I have not,” says Lady Puckering to her, “the vanity to expect often letters from your ladyship. Some force I put upon myself, in not troubling you with mine. It is

¹ Bedford Papers.

A.D. 1669. not perfect good nature in me, but my fear of the curses of those that pretend to your ladyship, especially Mr. Russell, by whose success, if your ladyship be but as merciful as fame is kind to him, he will be the happiest man I know.”¹ Their marriage² took place the latter end of May, in the same year; immediately after which, they set out on an excursion into Scotland, visiting the Countess of Pembroke on their way.³ Then followed a happiness that seems to have reconciled with reality the ideal bliss that poets have so often feigned, in the union of the pure beings of their imagination,—a happiness that increased with the intimacy of succeeding years; and that is attested under almost every variety of affectionate expression, in every page of her subsequent correspondence. Lady Vaughan’s letters to her husband are indeed not very numerous, for they were seldom separated during the fourteen years in which their union subsisted. Yet each one of those that do remain, reveals a mine of “passionate affection,” rich with feeling, and full of a fresh beauty; whether employed in assuring him, on the very day of his departure, “how she loves to be busied still in either speaking of or to him,” or in acknowledging “her infinite obligations to him” as “the delight of her life;” whether in narrating the winning pranks and fancies of their children, or sending him their artless messages of infantile remembrance; lamenting her long absence

WRIOTHESLEY.



¹ Devonshire Papers.

² Arms of WRIOTHESLEY; *Azure*, a cross *or*, between 4 hawks close *argent*.

³ “1669. The 1st day of June in this year,” says the countess, in her ‘Memorials,’ “whilst I lay in Pendragon Castle with my family, did Mr. William Russell and his wife come from their house, called Woburne, thither to Pendragon Castle, to me, where he lay that one night; and the next day he continued his journey into Scotland, calling by the way at Naworth Castle, in Cumberland, to see my cousin the Earl of Carlisle, and his lady, that is his cousin.”—MSS. Harl. 6177, p. 177.

from “ the earthly blessing of her soul,” or anticipating with A.D. 1672. all the luxury of hope and prodigality of joy the moment that will soon rejoin them. Their summers were generally spent either at her estate of Stratton in Hampshire, or, after the death of her sole sister, Lady Gainsborough, whom she entitles “ her delicious friend,” at Tichfield, in the same county ; or otherwise at Totteridge, in Hertfordshire, the springs of which are to this day hallowed with her name : their winters at Southampton House in town, “ whence, if business or country sports called her companion, she sought society, and collected for him in her letters, all the little anecdotes that could serve to amuse his absence.”¹ In the midst of this unmingled bliss, a fear would sometimes cross her fancy, when she mused either on the loss of some endeared acquaintance, or the general instability of fortune, that enjoyment such as theirs was too ecstatic long to last ; and she would then seek, by moral touches of almost prophetic truth, to prepare her partner for those possible events whose coming shadows were indistinctly mirrored on her mind.²

To the exquisite sentiments thus struck forth, in the simple eloquence of nature, from affection, from gratitude, from social pleasure, and from true devotion, Mr. Russell responded with an equal feeling ; and in this happy and retired tenour ran the first four years of his wedded life. The charmed influence which so inspired a mistress would have over his life, to all high and holy issues, must have been great indeed. One of its most obvious effects was to impart additional vigour and clearness to his religious predilections, and to his conviction of the paramount value of

¹ Miss Berry : *Life of Lady Russell*, p. xxi.

² See, for instance, that remarkable passage in her Letters, written in 1672, “ You, my best life, that know so well how to love and to oblige,” &c.

A.D. 1672. that “faith which was once delivered to the saints;” which now, after twelve years of unmixed misgovernment, was manifestly endangered by the reigning powers. Without intrigue, and devoid of all ambition, he had hitherto given himself up principally to the congenial sweets of private life. But at the evils that now overhung his country from an arbitrary ministry and bigotted intriguant, his spirit took alarm; and he was sensible that to stand more prominently forward in its service was his sacred duty. To the championship of its cause he brought indeed no shining talents,—no dazzling lightnings of electric eloquence; but what was of much greater force against a wicked and licentious court, a reputation for integrity and virtue that amounted soon to reverence—a soul inflexibly tenacious of its purpose, a love of constitutional freedom not to be surpassed, and a glowing zeal for the interests of the Protestant religion, systematically attempted to be undermined. But before proceeding to his parliamentary career, the other branches of the family require a brief notice.

WILLIAMS.



The Earl of Bedford's third son, John, died young. His fourth son was Edward, born in 1643, and his fifth Robert. The two latter, after completing their university education, made, in 1660-1, the tour of France, with their tutor Mr. Rich; and in 1662 that of Italy, returning by Augsburg, Frankfort, and other German cities, through the Netherlands. Edward, in 1688, through the instrumentality of John Howe, the celebrated nonconformist, who both proposed and negotiated the union, married Frances, daughter of Sir Robert Williams,¹ of Penrhyn, Carnarvon, widow of Richard Lloyd, Esq.,² of Ecllis, in Denbighshire,—and having

LLOYD.

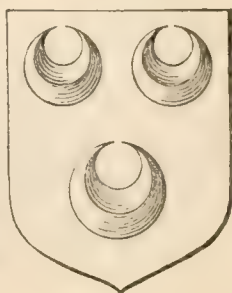


¹ Arms; *Gules*, a chevron *argent*, between 3 Saxons' heads in profile, couped *argent*.

² Arms; *Or*, 3 men's heads proper, in armour *argent*, garnished of the field.

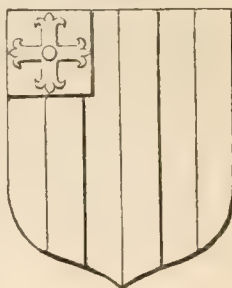
served in nine parliaments for the county of Bedford, and filled the office of Lord Lieutenant for Middlesex during the minority of his nephew, Wriothesley, Duke of Bedford, died without offspring on the 30th of June, 1714. Robert, in the autumn of 1690, was united to his cousin Letitia, eldest daughter of Colonel Edward Russell, of Chiswick, and relict of Thomas Cheeke, Esq. of Pirgo.¹ He was constituted clerk of the pipe, on August 31, 1689, served in seven parliaments for Tavistock, and died without offspring, his lady deceasing January 8, 1722. A.D. 1672.

CHEEKE.

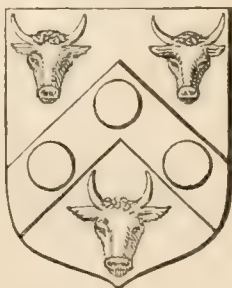


James, the sixth son, and George, the seventh, after a learned education at Magdalen College, Oxford, made the usual tour of Europe. The former married, first, Elizabeth, daughter and coheir to Sir Edmund Wright,² Lord Mayor of London, relict of Sir John Trot,³ Bart., of Laverstoke, in Hampshire; and, secondly, on the 14th of August, 1697, Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Tryphœna Grove,⁴ Dr. Burgess performing the solemnity. He settled at Maidwell, in Northamptonshire, was in parliament for Tavistock in the first year of Queen Anne, and died June 22, 1712, leaving by his second lady an only daughter, Tryphœna, who became the wife of Thomas Scawen, Esq.,⁵ of Carshalton, knight of the shire for Surrey. His second lady, whom Dr. Doddridge, from the correspondence addressed to her, obviously held in high estimation, married for her second

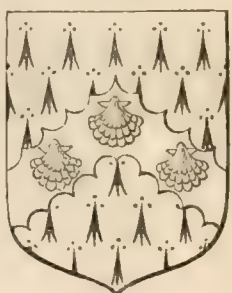
TROT.



WRIGHT.



GROVE.



¹ Arms; *Argent*, 3 crescents *gules*.

² Arms; *Sable*, on a chevron *argent*, 3 torteaux between 3 bulls' heads attired *or*.

³ Arms; Paly of six *or* and *gules*, a canton *argent*, on a cross fleury *sable*, a bezant *or*.

⁴ Arms; *Ermine*, on a chevron engrailed *gules*, an escallop *or*, between two others *argent*.

⁵ Arms; 1st and 4th *argent*, a chevron between 3 griffins' heads erased *sable*; 2d and 3d *argent*, a chevron *azure*, between 3 goldfinches *proper*.

A.D. 1672. husband Sir Henry Houghton, Bart.,¹ of Houghton Tower, in Lancashire, and died at Reading, on her return from Bath, September 1st, 1736. George Russell married Mary, daughter and heiress of Michael Pendleton, Esq.,² a city merchant, and died, during the life-time of his father, in 1692, leaving one son, William, a student of Lincoln's Inn, who died unmarried, during his minority.

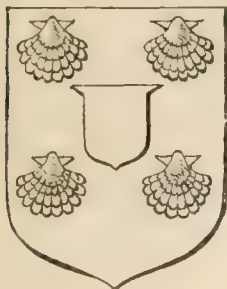
SCAWEN.



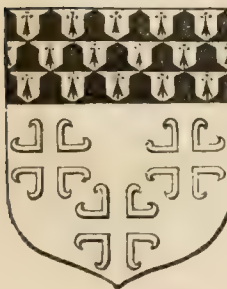
HOUGHTON.



PENDLETON.



VERNEY.



Besides this numerous progeny, the earl had four daughters, Anne, Diana, Catharine, and Margaret. The two former are represented as children in a pleasing painting by Vandyck, at Woburn. Lady Anne is said to have died soon after it was taken, in consequence of eating certain noxious berries, that were partaken of also by her second sister. The Lady Diana, however, happily recovered, and was first married, in August, 1667, to Sir Greville Verney,³ K.B., of Compton Verney, in Warwickshire. Her second husband was William Baron Allington,⁴ of Wymondley and Killard, constable of the Tower, whose residence was at Horseheath, Cambridgeshire, by whom she had a son and two daughters. From the few letters of hers that remain, she appears to have taken an intense interest in all the public events that preceded and accompanied the happy Revolution of 1688. She died December 13, 1701.

Catharine died young. Margaret was born August 31, 1656. On the 30th of October, 1688, she received overtures of marriage from William, second Earl of Strafford; but his unsettled fortunes at that peculiar crisis of affairs (Ireland being invaded, where his possessions principally

¹ Arms; *Sable*, 3 bars *argent*, on a canton *or*, a rose of England and thistle of Scotland, impaled, stalked, and leaved, *vert*.

² Arms; *Gules*, an escutcheon between 4 escallops in saltire, *argent*.

³ Arms; *Gules*, 3 crosses recercelée *or*, a chief *vairé ermine* and *sable*.

⁴ Arms; *Sable*, a bend engrailed between 6 billets *argent*.

lay), prevented the treaty, although managed by Lady Russell's best discretion, from auspiciously proceeding; and Lady Margaret soon after married her cousin, Edward, Earl of Orford.¹ Frequent mention is made of her, as well as of her sister Allington, in Lady Russell's letters: she had no offspring, and dying in January, 1701-2, was interred at Chenies; her funeral sermon being preached, and subsequently printed, by Dr. Samuel Barker.

Margaret Russell, Countess of Carlisle, after the death of her lord in October 1660, married, says Dugdale, Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick and second Earl of Holland;² and lastly, Edward Montagu,³ the celebrated Lord Kimbolton of an earlier period, and equally illustrious during the civil wars as Earl of Manchester. With this nobleman, who was universally beloved for his unbounded hospitality, obliging temper, and great virtues, which have won from Clarendon the highest eulogiums, she spent but a few happy years, as he died in 1664. She survived him nearly twelve years, being interred at Chenies in 1676, but left no offspring by either of her husbands. The child, with whom she is represented in the painting of Vandyck, is her niece, Diana, afterwards Lady Verney. Her sister, Lady Newport, by letters patent to her husband in 1675, was raised to the rank of a viscountess, and by a similar mark of royal favour, in 1694, she became Countess of Bradford. She died on the 30th of January, 1696-7, and was interred at Chenies. The date of her third sister, Lady Brooke's death, is entirely unknown.

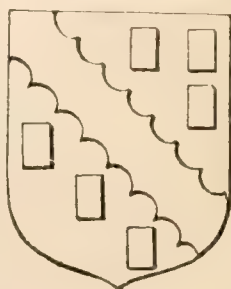
¹ Arms; *argent*, a lion rampant *gules*, on a chief *sable*, 3 escallops *argent*, a crescent for difference.

² Arms; *gules*, a chevron between 3 cross crosslets *or*. In respect, however, to this assumed marriage there is great obscurity. It is scarcely reconcilable with chronological data.

³ Arms; *argent*, 3 lozenges in fesse *gules*, within a bordure *sable*, a crescent for difference.

A.D. 1672.

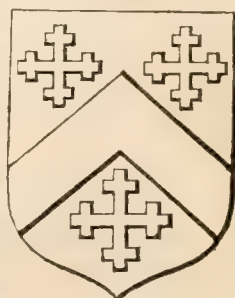
ALLINGTON.



RUSSELL, EARL OF ORFORD.



RICH.



MONTAGU.



CHAPTER XIX.

FROM THE FIRST MONEY TREATY WITH FRANCE TO THE PARLIAMENT
OF OXFORD.

A.D. 1670-1681.

Character of the court and state of parties ... First and second money treaties with France, 1670-1 ... Mr. Russell moves an address against the ministry, 1674 ... Charges Danby with malpractices, 1675 ... Earl of Bedford's spirited conduct on the Non-resisting Test ... Third secret money treaty, 1676 ... Mr. Russell proposes an address for a dissolution ... Fourth secret money treaty, 1677 ... Lord Russell moves for a committee on the state of the kingdom, 1678 ... His interview with M. de Rouvigny ... is sworn a privy counsellor, 1679 ... His sentiments on a Catholic succession ... his resentment at the manœuvre to get rid of the Exclusion Bill, 1679 ... he retires from the council-board, 1680 ... His motion in the October session ... Rejection of the Exclusion Bill ... His declaration to refuse supplies ... he introduces at the bar the Middlesex grand jury ... Earl of Bedford a petitioner against the summons of parliament to Oxford ... Lord Russell moves for an exclusion bill, 1681 ... Dissolution of parliament ... Outcry against the Whigs.

A.D. 1670. THE chiefs of the Presbyterian party and a small body of the peers, amongst whom were the Earls of Bedford¹ and Manchester, had alone had the wisdom to desire that the king should enter into guarantees for the preservation of the public liberties, before he was recalled. In the joy with which he was welcomed into England, these considerations were overborne; and the nation became aware, when it was too late,

¹ Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 705. "Last night Lord Bedford told Lady Bristol that the business was now agreed upon by the council, and that they would take a course with those beyond sea." Their projects were betrayed to Chancellor Hyde by one of the party; and Lady Bristol also condescended to abuse the confidence reposed in her.

of the fatal oversight it had committed. It was soon found A.D. 1670. that Charles could follow nothing but pleasure ; and that the honourable counsels of Southampton and Clarendon were abandoned for those of giddy and frivolous companions, who, taking him when he was with his mistresses, and in a humour of delight, insinuated the most dissolute and dangerous principles of government. Under their inauspicious sway, Charles soon grew weary of restraint ; the veil of common decorum was cast away, and Pleasure, the gross enchantress, paced throughout his palace in zoneless, undisguised effrontery. He had scarcely any sense of religion to moderate his levities ; the little he possessed was Roman Catholic, which he had adopted before he left France—a portentous secret, known as yet to none about him. He usually, we are told, passed to church, even upon Sacrament-days, from the apartments of those syrens upon whose seductive graces the pencil of Lely has conferred so unenviable a perpetuity. From the noble reserve of Clarendon and Southampton, who, whilst every one besides made assiduous court to these sultanas, would never condescend even to pay a visit to any of them, the speedy disgrace of these ministers might be easily predicted. Their transit from the stage of action cleared the way for subtler and bolder actors ; whilst the giddy and indulgent flatterers of the court, freed now from every check, began systematically to cry up those foreign governments where the prince enjoyed an absolute command ; and to insist upon the ease with which a king of England might shake himself free from the restraint of ignominious laws, that so much fettered his free will. The beguiling voice found a willing auditor in the Duke of York, whose earlier project for the formation of a standing army had been baffled only by the vigilance and spirit of Southampton and Clarendon. It insinuated itself more slowly into Charles's ear, because

A.D. 1670. his love of pleasure led him to dread the trouble inseparable from the scheme. But the temptation took by degrees: the danger was glossed over, the advantage was enhanced; the doubling of the rose-leaf under him, the thorn itself which he might encounter, was made endurable to the luxurious king; and the black mysterious plot against the nation's liberties, was cautiously, was secretly in every point matured. Besides a standing army, foreign aid was necessary; and the two brothers looked for this to France. The triple alliance—that one noble act of Charles's reign, and Europe's security against the ambitious arms of Lewis the Fourteenth—was, it is true, in their way; but as Lewis willingly overlooked this late offence, the sacrifice of their allies was a matter of no consideration with them, to the end they had in view. On the 22d of May, therefore, 1670, to his eternal shame, a secret treaty with France was entered into by the English monarch, the infamous conditions of which can never cease to be regarded by Englishmen with horror and aversion.

By this it was agreed, not only that Charles should co-operate in the conquest of the Netherlands, and the destruction of Holland, in which republic the fire of freedom most intensely shone, but propagate to the utmost of his power the Roman Catholic faith in his dominions, and, in his own time, declare himself a convert to its doctrines. In consideration whereof, and to overpower the resistance which “turbulent and restless spirits” might be disposed to raise, he was to receive from Lewis 200,000*l.*; and if necessary, a body of six thousand men, maintained at the expense of France, besides a large annual subsidy, to enable him to carry on the war without the assistance of his parliament.¹

¹ Dalrymple, vol. ii. Appendix, pp. 44, 58.

Such were the elements by which the public sentiment was A.D. 1670.
to be controlled by this conspiracy of kings, and English liberty subverted ! The first act of the plot was to commence with a Dutch war ; and a mock treaty, built on the intrigues of Buckingham, was proclaimed, as a screen to the real tragedy in meditation ; whilst, to hold the too capricious Charles more surely to his bond, a new mistress was furnished him from France, in the person of La Querouaille, created, on her landing, Duchess of Portsmouth. It was fit that the venal league of tyranny and superstition should be sealed by sensuality.

What had England to oppose to these perilous machinations ? She had a parliament ; but a parliament that had hitherto concurred in almost every measure of the court, almost in every demand. It was a parliament that had given up, without a struggle,—nay, with something very like a reprobation,—the Triennial Act, that great and noble measure which had once been deemed the palladium of freedom, and vital principle of our liberties ; a parliament that, besides fixing a revenue for the king treble in amount to that of any former English monarch, had voted five millions for the first war with Holland, had gratified the reinstated clergy in every wish for compelling a perfect uniformity ; had gone with them in their intolerance of all dissent, in their bitter persecutions ;¹ and that still continued, with little exception, to obey every requisition that was made for money by the loose profusion of the throne. Still there were some hopeful

¹ In 1661, within a year after the Restoration, 3068 of the Society of Friends alone had been committed to the most loathsome prisons, at their instigation, by a magistracy desirous of ingratiating itself by such rigour ; and a bill was passed to *compel them to take oaths*, which led to fresh convictions and fresh incarcerations. Vide George Fox's Petition. Cobbett's Parl. Hist. vol. iv. p. 233.

A.D. 1670. indications of returning virtue. The country began to groan beneath the weight of taxes, and inquiry to be made into the public accounts. Some speculators were disgraced. There followed in 1667 symptoms of a rising Opposition, which, after the fire of London, strengthened with the growing discontents, and served as a nucleus for the noble party of patriots that rose when the dark designs of the CABAL came first to be suspected. The indignation excited by the ruffianly outrage of the king's creatures on Sir John Coventry, for his parliamentary repartee, which presents a startling picture of the mad excesses of the court, quickened into action the torpor of these individuals. From this period, the little phalanx took somewhat like consistent form; and a useful line of demarcation began to be established, by the revival of the old terms of the Court and Country Party, which had been long disused and unremembered.

Charles had not ventured to trust more than his Catholic ministers, Arlington and Clifford, with the whole truth of the secret treaty; but the rest knew sufficiently his passion for despotic sway, to aid the general design. All received large gifts from France. The first public event that gave a glimpse of the sinister project, was the Duke of York's declaring himself a Catholic. In the strong national jealousy excited by this step, the king would not call a parliament; but shutting the exchequer, refused to pay the interest due upon the public funds, and possessed himself of all the payments made by the revenue collectors. He attempted, with equal perfidy, whilst yet at peace with Holland, to seize on her rich Smyrna fleet; but in this he was fortunately unsuccessful. Elated, however, at being able to proceed without his parliament, he flung off much of his habitual dissimulation. When his necessities obliged him, in 1673, to call a parliament,

he published his Declaration of Indulgence in religious matters. But few were so blind as not to see that its sole scope was to please the Duke of York, by placing the Catholics on an equal footing with Protestant dissenters. The Commons framed remonstrances accordingly; and as whispers of the conditions of the real treaty reached the Opposition from the Dutch minister, they brought in their celebrated bill for incapacitating all Catholics from holding any public place or office. The infinite pains which the court took to thwart the measure, proved how exquisitely sharp it cut. Seeing that the church and nonconformists were firmly conjoined in its support, it strove to throw between them the apple of discord, by the wily proposal that some ease might at least be given to Protestant dissenters. The Commons shewed every disposition to concur with the suggestion; but the dissenters, deprecating the animosities that might arise upon this score, preferred rather to lie under the severity of the existing laws, than endanger the success of what they considered a much more necessary measure. There was great generosity of sacrifice in this resolve; although they could not then foresee that their descendants were, for two centuries, to suffer for the self-infliction. Baffled in the Commons, the king, with complaints of great ill usage, hastened to the Peers. Clifford there poured forth the most extraordinary denunciations against the "monstrous vote of the Commons;" from which Shaftesbury, his colleague, took the liberty of expressing his unqualified dissent. Aware, also, that the court was willing, when the Test Act was brought to the upper house, to make him a sacrifice for peace with the nation, the latter gave it covertly every countenance in his power. The king was in the end obliged to pass it, and to cancel his declaration.

A.D. 1673. Whilst the Commons were preparing an address to stay the projected marriage of the Duke of York, the session was suddenly prorogued.

The ministry, by all that had passed, was in a state of dislocation. Great was the rage of the court at Shaftsbury's contradiction of the treasurer; but he had the dexterity to mitigate it, and sought to break the force of his fall, by a negotiation with the country party. Clifford, incapacitated by the act, threw up his white staff in vexation; and if, as is reported, the Duke wept on resigning his own commissions, we may be assured that they were tears of equal passion and resentment.

In the session of October, the Commons refused supplies for the war until other precautions were taken against Popery, and voted a standing army a grievance. The Duke, noticing their temper, moved the king for a prorogation; immediately after which Shaftsbury was dismissed from his office, and the treasurer's staff was conferred upon the Earl of Danby.

Such was the state of things and parties when Mr. Russell came upon the scene; the principal features of whose character at this period are, it may be presumed, correctly depicted by Burnet, who designates him as "a man of great candour, universally beloved and trusted; of a generous and obliging temper; favourable, from early education, to the non-conformists; of little discourse; a slow, but correct judgment; and with virtues so eminent, that they would have more than balanced real defects, if any such had been." Under the free, and sometimes vehement debates with which the patriots of his party had recently caused the House of Commons to resound, his retiring disposition took the boldness necessary for influencing a popular assembly; and his heart, under

the near dangers threatened to the country, gathered an A.D. 1674. indignation suited for that noble strife on its behalf, of which the previous events were but the prelude. At the opening of the session in January, 1674, in the debate raised upon the pressing of men of quality for soldiers, contrary to Magna Charta, he, for the first time, openly arraigned the guilty measures of the court. "Property, religion, all that was valuable, being invaded," he urged "that the authors of their misfortunes should be ascertained,—those bad ministers about the king, who committed such excesses—proroguing parliaments; breaking articles of treaty; shutting up the exchequer; taking pensions of France; and falsely accusing those who, like himself, denounced their inroads, of being in the pay of Holland." The house acted on the opportune suggestion,—voted first an address to remove the Duke of Lauderdale, justly obnoxious from the tyranny of his administration in Scotland, and impeached Buckingham and Arlington. Mr. Russell, in following up the grounds for Buckingham's impeachment, strongly commented on the open profligacy of his life. It was not every occasion that could justify, in an assembly of that nature, the personality of his reflections; but that "madness of vice" in Buckingham, which, more than any other cause, is noted as having corrupted the king's principles,—his atheism, and general impiety, were too notoriously acknowledged not to merit the rebuke. The Duke of Lauderdale was saved by the exceptions which the Lords took to his being questioned by the Commons; but his influence as a minister was now effectually broken. The address with which Arlington defended himself, and the personal canvass which the popular Earl of Ossory made in his favour, saved that minister also from immediate disgrace; but he was compelled by rapid steps to give place

A.D. 1674. to the ascendancy of Danby; and in the following year received, together with Buckingham, his dismissal from the ministry. There were not wanting, however, more immediate fruits from the spirited proceedings of this session. The court, abandoned as it was, was impressed with a salutary sense of the weight and dignity of parliament, and the ministry was checked in its mid career of mischief. The king, denied supplies, was compelled, abroad, to terminate his war with Holland; and at home, in process of being disabled, from the use of a standing army; whilst the passing of the Habeas Corpus act placed the personal freedom of the subject, so long at the mere mercy of the crown, within the sacred shelter of the laws.

The court was thus checked, but it was not conquered; the snake was scotched, but it was by no means slain. Peace with Holland, in the view of the country party, was not war with absolute, ambitious, and encroaching France; but Lewis, fearful that it would become so, if the English parliament should meet again in October, pardoned the separate treaty of his perfidious ally, and by a new subsidy of 100,000*l.* purchased of the venal king a farther prorogation until April;¹ which done, the court delivered itself up to its ordinary course of luxury and sloth.²

In April the house met, after their fourteen months' recess. The king designed to cultivate with it a better understanding, preparatory to one that was to be held towards winter, in which money was to be solicited. The means of doing this were ready — there was no novelty in them. The Cabal had already scattered many a golden shower among several members of this long parliament, now numbered with the high court party; Danby applied himself to gain the

¹ Dalrymple, Appendix, p. 9.

² Burnet.

meaner herd. Well aware of these intrigues, the Opposition A.D. 1675. relaxed none of its efforts. Three several addresses were made against Duke Lauderdale; but as no *superinducement* of supplies accompanied the clamour, Charles would not comply with the demand. Mr. Russell attacked the dangerous declaration of Danby, who had said, “that a new proclamation was as good as an old law,” impeached him for his lavish and arbitrary actings in the treasury, and moved his dismissal from the councils of the king. The charges underwent a long debate, and were drawn into articles for an arraignment; but the matter was not yet ripe for a substantiation: and, according to Sir John Reresby, whom, as their early friend, Mr. Russell and Lord Cavendish at this time introduced to take his seat, the two parties in parliament were so equal that neither durst stand the risk of a division. In the Lords, however, there were debates upon debates for fifteen days successively, and protests and divisions quite enough to keep alight the flame of freedom. It was on the non-resisting Test,—a declaration renouncing the lawfulness of resistance *in any case whatsoever*, and an engagement to attempt no alteration in church or state, which was to be taken as the necessary qualification for a seat in the Commons,—a doctrine that, followed on to its conclusions, would have established the church as unalterable, and the government as wholly absolute. The real scope of the proposal was, by shutting out for ever all dissenters from parliament, to disjoin, and, by the aid of a few temporary enactments against Catholicism, to attach the whole church party inalienably to the court. The opposition offered to it was most uncompromising, and comprised not only the country party, properly so called, with which Shaftsbury and Buckingham now acted as allies, but the Duke of York, and all his fellow Catholics, who were appre-

A.D. 1675. hensive that a test of this kind would inevitably bring another in its train for their exclusion also. Against the doctrine of non-resistance in particular, Lord Shaftsbury expended a torrent of indignant eloquence and happy sarcasm. He spoke for an entire hour, and said many things that stung the conscious duke and monarch to the quick; for both were present, as the king had long made it a practice to attend the Peers' debates, thinking it might tend to restrain any inconvenient freedom of opinion or expression. Lords Bolingbroke and Halifax succeeded, each with acute and unanswerable arguments against the mischief of the scheme. "Nor must I forget," says Locke, "to mention those great lords, Bedford, Devonshire, and Burlington, for the countenance and support they gave to the English interest: the first was so brave in it that he joined in three of the protests entered against it on the journals."¹ "It was the greatest contest, perhaps," says the admirable Marvel, "that had ever been in parliament. They stood up, those lords that were against the oath, with the same genius, virtue, and courage, with which their noble ancestors had formerly defended the great charter of England, and fought it out under all the disadvantages imaginable."² Though the court had a majority in this remarkable conflict, they had no triumph. To prevent the subject being brought before the Commons, a dispute between both houses was raised, to terminate which a prorogation was pronounced. The sittings were not resumed till the 13th of October.

When the house met, the king asked for supplies; but as it was believed that, if these were not granted, he would be obliged to take other ministers and better counsels, they were refused; and a committee was appointed to inquire what members

¹ Cobbett's Parl. Hist. vol. iv. App. p. lxiv.

² *Ib.* p. 720.

had received *douceurs* for their votes. For it was notorious that A.D. 1677.
a very large number—Marvel says a third part or more of the
entire house—had been bought by practices over which scarcely
a muslin veil was sought to be cast ; insomuch that Danby once
laughingly remarked, that at the end of every session they
came about him like so many jackdaws for cheese. There
were, indeed, as in the case of Marvel, some splendid instances
of incorruptibility ; but these righteous patriots were too few
to save the house from the general stigma. To the objections
arising from this cause was added that of its duration. It
had sat for fourteen years. Great efforts were made in the
Lords to address the king for a dissolution, but it failed ; and,
whilst the minority were flocking to enter their protests against
the vote of the court party, the king came and prorogued
parliament, not for the usual period, but until the April
of the ensuing year ; and entered into a fresh secret treaty
with France¹ at the moment when her reverses had enabled
him to set decisive bounds to her aggrandisement. Her
pension of two million livres supplied him with the ways and
means until the term of prorogation had expired, when he
again convoked his parliament. Mr. Russell's motion of an
address for a dissolution was unattended with success ; for the
dread of a new parliament made all the court dependants run
with greater eagerness than ever into the projects of the
crown. More reasonable hopes of good were indulged from
the universal alarm excited by the successful progress of the
French arms in Flanders. The Commons hereupon conjured
the king to fall into the interests of Europe, assuring him of
every support if he would declare war with Lewis. But
Charles, besides his invincible repugnance to every thing
Dutch, was entangled in the net of his own intrigues. It was

¹ Dalrymple, Appendix, p. 112.

A.D. 1677. an article of the late secret treaty, that he should certainly prorogue or dissolve his parliament if it should manifest a disposition to compel him to declare war with France; and this treaty he had written out with his own hand, as not caring, or daring to trust the disgraceful conditions to any of his ministers. The path of safety and honour was displayed to him; but he had not the virtue to break from his inglorious thralldom, and in his giddy chase of pleasure threw away with scorn the balances of Europe. With his characteristic insincerity, he demanded to be put in a condition to accomplish the design of the address, before he took a single step towards the desired alliance. The Commons saw the hollowness of this; yet they offered him 200,000*l.*; but he would accept of nothing less than 600,000*l.* Whilst stickling thus with his people on the terms of acquiescence with their hopes, he was busily engaged in screwing up the fears of France, to obtain an advance upon the price of his engaged neutrality. The Commons pressed their point; the monarch lanced at them his anger; and in this ungenial temper the parliament was prorogued.

The joy evinced at the marriage of the protestant Prince of Orange with the Princess Mary diverted for awhile this current. The king felt its good effects, in the million of money that was voted, when the houses met in April, for the specific purpose of maintaining a war with France. But, auspicious as the measure was, it served to bring back to Charles neither popularity nor confidence. Sir Gilbert Gerard moved for an absolute declaration against France; and Lord Russell¹ for a committee of the whole house to consider the state of the kingdom, under the apprehensions generally entertained from Popery and a standing army, in order that

¹ In this year Francis, Lord Russell, died, and the title devolved upon his brother William. Lady Vaughan henceforth took the name of Lady Russell.

some means might be found to save themselves from ruin. A.D. 1677.

Both motions were instantly adopted.

The marriage of the prince had been followed by negotiations for a general peace at Nimeguen. The address now agreed to, pressed the king for a recall of the English envoys, the dismissal of the French ambassador, and an open declaration of hostilities with Lewis. But Charles, by adjourning the house, got rid of the address; and meanwhile Lewis, negotiating vigorously with his sword, achieved fresh conquests, which enabled him to dictate peace on his own terms. In the resentment which he had conceived from the recent match, and the obstruction to his projects raised by the Nimeguen negotiations, there had been some interruption of their amicable understanding. Charles lost, therefore, the stipulated bribe for his neutrality; but he was anxious to repair his fault. A fresh agreement was accordingly drawn; on the perfect secrecy of which, as a point of the last importance, he expressively insisted. It was to this effect; that the English king should stand neuter in the war, if the allies should refuse the terms of peace prescribed by France—should not assemble his parliament for six months, but disband his army,—and receive for his compliances six million livres.¹ The French ambassador, in acknowledging the acceptance of these terms, significantly observed: “*The king himself will sign the treaty: none of his subjects are bold enough to do it!*” It was formally executed on the 17th of May.

The result of Lord Russell’s motion was a resolution for a conference with the Lords. This also was quashed by the angry prorogation of the 13th of May. It took, however, a fresh shape in the session of June: a bill for disabling the Papists from sitting in parliament was formally committed,

¹ Dalrymple, Appendix, p. 161.

A.D. 1678. and in the ensuing year passed into a law. Meanwhile Lord Danby came down with a message to increase the royal revenue to 300,000*l.* during life. A proposition so flagrant, at a time when there was a large army raised, and yet no war proclaimed, exasperated numbers. It was obvious to all, that the grant was required solely for payment of the soldiery, until a military government could be decidedly set up. Infinite, therefore, was the hatred that it drew on Danby, and vigorous were the efforts that followed its refusal, to compel the king to disband his forces,—useless wholly, as the Dutch, on information of the secret bond between Charles and Lewis, had hastily ratified the treaty. The disbanding of the army was now a point no less insisted on by Lewis; who sent over the Marquis de Rouvigny for the express purpose of carrying this part of the secret treaty into effect.

This partial identification of interests between the French king and the popular party, brought them into contact with each other. The terms in which Dalrymple announces the interviews that passed between Lord Russell and his relative, give an air of importance to the incident far beyond what is actually due to it. Although, therefore, the gigantic shadows thrown at first over the transaction have long since shrunk to their appropriate dimensions, an account of their interviews may not unsuitably be entered into.

It was in the middle of March, 1678, that Rouvigny, Lady Russell's maternal uncle, came to England. In the conversations, which naturally ensued between the two relatives, Rouvigny studied to remove from Russell's mind the impression, that the French king had any design of rendering Charles absolute in England. Rouvigny succeeded in convincing him not only of this, but that it was a part of the French king's present policy to bring about that dissolution

of parliament, which was now the Opposition's chief ground A.D. 1678. of hope. Lord Russell, satisfied with his explanations, stated, that he would open the case to Lord Shaftsbury; and then proceeded to apprise his kinsman, in return, that it was the intention of his party to throw hinderances in the way of any augmentation of the offer for urging Charles to war, or, if foiled there, to couple with the grant such conditions as would rather induce the desire to reunite himself with France than accept it so controlled. Both managements would thus, as matters stood, strengthen the chances of a dissolution. He frankly, however, intimated his suspicion, that Charles intended to declare a deceptious war, merely to get supplies for carrying it on; that he would then make peace; and that Lewis would so far stand his good friend, as to wink at the whole proceeding till the money was secured. But Rouvigny said No to this; and, to disabuse his mind of that idea, said, that Barillon was ready to distribute a considerable sum in the parliament, to prevail with it to refuse all grants whatsoever for the war; and hereupon he would venture to solicit the names of such persons as, in Lord Russell's estimation, might be persuaded to accept it.

Lord Russell was startled at this language. He was ready to coalesce by all honourable political means with any power that would aid in averting the dangers that overhung his country. But he was not one of those whose efforts were either to be bought by gold, or employed as an instrument for corrupting others. "I SHOULD BE VERY SORRY," he replied, in his simple integrity, "TO HAVE ANY COMMERCE WITH PERSONS CAPABLE OF BEING GAINED BY MONEY!" He farther told Rouvigny, that he and his friends WANTED NOTHING BUT A DISSOLUTION, which they knew could only come from the conjoint help of France; and that being now

A.D. 1678. assured of Lewis's assistance in it, they would trust him, and endeavour to oblige their own king once more to ask his friendship, that thereby Lewis might be placed in a condition to contribute to their satisfaction.

A few days after this, the debate on the supplies came on. It was soon found by the country party that it would be perfectly futile to resist the grant of money. The voted million did not, however, pass until the two smaller sums of six and of eight hundred thousand pounds had been proposed and negatived. They succeeded in coupling the grant with such conditions as led them to hope it would never be accepted; but in this expectation they were disappointed; for such was the rapacity for troops and money, that the whole was swallowed with avidity. This acceptance redoubled all their former fears; and they now expected, that when the levies were completed, the leaders of their party would be arrested, the rest silenced, and, England being thus subjected, the war would be pursued, and the public treasure lavished, with the tacit concurrence of the whole nation. It was to prevent these evils that they pressed for an immediate declaration of war, which they trusted would oblige Charles to discover his intentions. And Lord Russell, in another interview with Rouvigny, declared, that now was the time for Lewis to acquire some merit with the nation, by requiring to know whether he was to have peace or war. Such a step, he urged, was far from being likely to induce a war, if war were not resolved upon already, whilst it would tend effectually to convince his party, that Lewis not only had no agreement with their king to subjugate the nation, but was resolved that no pretence of an imaginary war should be made subservient to such an end. This is all that Barillon states to have passed between the relatives. In both conversations the clear

honour and devoted aim at his country's interests, which A.D. 1678. actuated Lord Russell, shine distinctly out. He could not dissemble his satisfaction, when he was convinced that the suspicions were groundless which would attribute to the French king a consentaneous design with Charles to establish despotic sway; and it was equally obvious, that the patriotic party were resolved to swerve in no particular from the steady course which they had previously marked out, how desirable soever the co-operation of Lewis might appear, or whatever the steps might be which he should judge it his interest to take.

One only point in the conduct of this party it seems at first sight difficult to reconcile: that those who had lately been clamorous for war should have now become the advocates for peace. But it must be remembered, that the preservation of English freedom and the Protestant religion, predominated in their minds over all other considerations; and that the great crime of Lewis in their eyes was his striking at their liberties through Holland, and forming treaties with Charles in support of such a stroke. But France consenting to negotiate for peace, and now revealed as eager as themselves, though with different motives, for the prevention of despotic sway in England, was no longer an antagonist on which the nation should expend its treasures. Negotiations were begun; the cause for a commencing war had ceased; and supplies for waging what had every prospect of becoming a merely nominal aggression, could only be so eagerly demanded by the court for one of two purposes, either to lavish on its pensioners and pleasures, or to levy forces with the view, after they should have served their first ostensible purpose, of subduing the spirit of the nation. In either case, peace and parsimony were the twin duties of the guardians of the people.

A.D. 1678. In addition, however, to these interviews with Lord Russell, both Rouvigny and Barillon were engaged in ascertaining whether other more convenient agents might not be won. They had conversations with Lords Hollis, Shaftsbury, Buckingham, and others; but although Barillon found some who manifested a desire to seek the French king's protection, in case their persons were attacked, he acknowledged to his master, that none besides the Duke of Buckingham, (and he as believing that their real danger could alone be thus averted,) was disposed to enter into any formal engagement with him. Some months afterwards, Dalrymple informs us, a considerable number of the party sent a messenger to connect their interests with the court of France direct; but as the mission appears to have had no result, and as, at all events, Lord Russell was no party to the measure, it is unnecessary to pursue the subject farther.

Such, then, were the "dangerous projects of the heads of the popular party acting in concert with France;"¹ such "the intrigues of Lord Russell with Versailles," which on their discovery imparted to Dalrymple "very near the same shock as if he had seen a son turn his back in battle."² If a crime, it has long been considered as a glorious crime for the leading men in the subsequent reign to have "intrigued" with Holland for a far bolder security against the tyranny of James the Second. Amongst those who "turned their backs" in that victorious battle on the tyrant, was Dalrymple himself. Does posterity, therefore, chide him for his frailty? No. It merely smiles for a moment at his busy alarm for the Lord Russell, and then turns to pray that his own offence may lie equally light upon his memory.

It was considered a striking proof of Rouvigny's ill opinion

¹ Dal. App. 138.

² Ib. Preface to vol. ii. p. ix.

of the designs of the English court, that he fixed to a day the A.D. 1678. period for the disbanding of the forces. He had orders to offer six million livres if the period were observed. The forfeiture of so large a sum by the retention of this army beyond the time prescribed, proved that the sacrifice of it, whenever it should come, would be accompanied with a pain "like that of the nail torn from the finger." It was kept up under the pretence of want of funds for the disbanding. The Commons were resolved that the king should not have this plea, and voted him 600,000*l.*; after which a prorogation instantly took place.

Whilst the patriotic party, in the interval that now ensued, were looking back dispiritedly upon the past session, and forward despairingly on that which was to follow, a sudden event electrified the nation, and by the combined mystery and terror it inspired, magnified every former anticipated danger. This was the Popish Plot, the ghastly marvel of those apprehensive times. A new turn was instantly given to the aspect of affairs by the tremendous revelations or inventions disclosed during its investigation. Horror in her wildest forms was busy with men's imaginations, and a host of fearful passions was aroused, as her phantoms passed before them. Real or pretended, it was treason then to doubt its truth. Some ascribed the whole to Shaftsbury's concoction; but the frame-work of so extraordinary a scheme was placed beyond the wit of man, by accidents and coincidences which it was impossible for any one to have either originated or foreseen. It is less to be doubted that he made it, when it was arisen, the minister of his designs; so that if not the being that summoned it to birth, he was the presiding genius "that rode in the whirlwind," and "directed the storm." It fell on an illustrious head.

A.D. 1679. When parliament again met, the bill for incapacitating all Catholics but the Duke and a few peers from sitting, passed both houses. Lord Russell, however, moved to address the king for the duke's withdrawal from his person and councils, which was a prelude to the unlocking of the great question of the succession. He also apprised the house of those criminating papers disclosed to him by Montagu, the late ambassador in France, which the king so much desired to seize, and which led at length to the successful impeachment and the fall of Danby.

The history of Montagu's intrigue, whereby the overthrow of his great enemy was accomplished, is curious, but foreign to our purpose. The letters which he produced from his casket, by order of the house, effectually unmasked, in the money treaties with France, the treachery and venality both of the minister and king. The sovereign's credit with the nation, if any yet remained, was henceforth gone for ever. To get rid of the embarrassment caused by this disclosure, he first prorogued, and then dissolved his parliament, that "*Pensionary Parliament*," which had sat for eighteen years!

The elections terminated greatly to the advantage of the Opposition. Bedfordshire again returned her own Lord Russell. On the 6th of March, the new parliament convened, the Duke of York retiring to Brussels a few days before it met, having obtained from his brother the promise that he would never give his assent to any bill that would annul his right of succession.

The attempt now made by Sir William Temple to reconcile the king and nation, by combining in his councils several of the most distinguished leaders of opposition with an equal number of the old adherents of the court, bespoke his philosophic patriotism, but not his state-sagacity. There was

between the two but little attraction of cohesion; the elements A.D. 1679. would not amalgamate; and Charles, who is said to have been fond of chemistry, had not the political art to bind them into union. There was some chance, however, that *an extract of gold* might reward the alchemist, so the trial was made. Lord Russell and others of the country party were sworn of the Privy Council, of which Shaftsbury was made the president. The popular Earl of Essex, son of Lord Capel, who had been beheaded shortly after the late king, was advanced to the head of the treasury, and the Earl of Sunderland was made secretary of state. The three latter digested all affairs.

The announcement of this change, whilst it took the Commons by surprise, received from them no cordial welcome: they regarded it as some trick of state, and waited with mistrust to see what sacrifice was to ensue, from the gift of such a Greek. Within a week after the appointments, the question of the succession was discussed in parliament. In a speech which Lord Russell made on this occasion, he evinced that the atmosphere of Whitehall was likely in no respect to relax his firmness. "We see," he said, "by what is done under a Protestant prince, what will be accomplished under a Popish; betwixt both religions, this is the deciding day. In the last parliament, which was not a house to do great things, I moved something of this nature; but this house I hope will neither be cajoled nor bribed, feasted nor corrupted into the giving up the grand concerns of our religion and property. I desire, therefore, that a committee may be appointed to draw up a bill to secure both, in case of a Catholic succession." His vote in the council was to the same temperate effect, a proposal namely of limitations. Shaftsbury, when it came to his turn to speak, boldly professed that he saw no security except in the duke's absolute exclusion. The measure

A.D. 1679. which but formed the last escape of other minds, was the first resort of his.

His opinions at this time, however, had but little influence. A series of limitations was proposed to parliament, which, as it promised to shut out all Catholics from the church, the privy-council, parliament, the courts of justice, the navy and magistracy, might possibly, in the case of a prince less glaringly convicted than James of ill designs upon liberty, and in less excited times, have satisfied the national jealousy. But, to say nothing of deeply conscientious principle, the ferment and the fears afloat, cherished as they yet were by the terrors of the recent plot, rendered the proposal distasteful to the Commons, though well enforced by Secretary Coventry and the good Lord Cavendish, who was not for trying desperate means whilst there was any trust to be reposed in the validity of less securities. Mr. Hampden, notwithstanding, shrewdly observed, that for the nation to tie a Catholic successor with laws for preservation of the Protestant religion, was merely binding Sampson with withes, which he would inevitably snap, the moment he awoke. A bill of exclusion was in the end brought in; but after it had been twice read in the Commons, Charles prevented the third reading, by a prorogation of parliament. As he knew that the popular leaders in his councils would vehemently oppose this step, and that the rest would not support it, from their dread of parliament, he ventured to take it entirely on himself, although he thereby falsified the solemn declaration which he had publicly and spontaneously made but a short time before, that he would pursue no measure without the advice of his new counsellors.

An act so reckless did not pass without exciting a great and general indignation. It was beyond the power of Shaftsbury to master his resentment; in a gust of passion, he said

aloud in the house, that he would have the heads of those A.D. 1679. who were its authors. The secret advisers of it were Temple and the official triumvirate, who had quite broken with Shaftsbury on the late question of limitations. Jealous of his influence, and not indifferent to his menace, they agreed upon a motion to convert the prorogation to a dissolution. The new counsellors, however, urged, with truth, that the crown had never gained any thing by dissolving a parliament in anger; that the same men would doubtless be returned again, and prove less flexible, in proportion to the trouble and expense to which they should be subjected. Charles, notwithstanding, declared in favour of the minority; and the council, it is stated by Temple, broke up, with no less rage on the part of Shaftsbury and Lord Russell, than strong dissatisfaction on that of the whole board. The opinion of Lord Russell and his friends was justified by the event; the elections generally ran counter to the court, insomuch that Charles, as an escape from the distractions of his parliament, began again to cast a wishful eye towards Versailles. He scarcely permitted the new parliament to meet; but by repeated prorogations got rid of it for an entire twelvemonth; his wants being in the mean season likely to be supplied by the fresh bargain which he was driving with France.

The king's intractable self-will produced its corresponding fruits. Many of those who had lately been summoned to his councils, as well as others, threw up their offices. In November, Halifax left the presence-chamber, Shaftsbury his presidency, and Essex the treasury. Russell and his friend Lord Cavendish, Sir Henry Capel, and Mr. Powle, though sensible of the mockery implied by the solicitation of advice which the king was predetermined not to follow, continued for a short time longer at the council-table, in the hope that

A.D. 1680. some favourable change might be wrought by the defection of those ministers. But finding that, so far from this proving the case, parliament was to meet only to be again prorogued, and that the Duke of York was to be recalled; they, upon the 28th of January, 1680, demanded the king's permission to leave the council-board; to which he is reported to have answered, with laconic emphasis, "Ay, gentlemen, with all my heart."

These noble patriots must have seemed to breathe more freely when they had left the palace into which they had been beguiled, as if by the magic dust of some Spenserian enchanter. They had hoped to do the king some service; and had given their opinions on all occasions with equal candour to him, as fidelity to the nation.¹ But their position, constituted as the council was, with an *imperium in imperio*, and an unaltered bias in the king to his former maxims of government, must have sometimes appeared an unnatural one even to themselves. Their return into their former ranks, was welcomed with renewed tokens of attachment; amongst which it would not be proper to avoid notice of the elegant letter which Dr. Bates addressed at this time to Lord Russell, with a copy of his "Lives of eminent Men."² That celebrated Nonconformist had received many proofs of esteem from the

¹ In June, 1680, when the news of the defeat of Captain Graham, in the rising of Bothwell Bridge, was first communicated to the council, Lord Russell rose and said, with a generous vehemence, "that his only surprise was, that this trouble did not happen long ago, since his majesty thought fit to retain incendiaries near his person, and in his very councils." Duke Lauderdale sat near him, who, seeing he was aimed at, and recollecting the parliamentary addresses against him, asked leave to withdraw. But the king replied with a motion of his hand, "No, no; sit down, my lord; this is no place for *addresses*."

² The Latin version of it appears as a dedication to the work. If possible, the original letter shall be given in the Appendix.

Earl of Bedford and his family; and to his rare piety and A.D. 1680.
erudition, Tillotson, and the other eminent preachers of his
day, bear frequent and admiring testimony.

The new parliament met for the despatch of business on the 21st of October. During the long interval that had preceded it, the Protestant party had had full time to reconsider the serious dangers that appeared to overhang the nation. The exposure of the new conspiracy of Dangerfield—the Meal-Tub plot, traced as it was to Catholic device or agency, concurred with the busy genius of abler political alarmists to keep the nation in a continual ague-fit, now of tremour, now of fever. The fixed determination of the country party, who had now obtained their honourable synonym of Whigs, to raise at all hazards the strongest bulwark that the constitution would admit against the perils of a Catholic succession, would be necessarily increased, as they looked back on the struggle of their fathers, and compared the past throes of regenerate freedom with the present ordeal through which it was to pass. In what had the Civil Wars originated, but in similar grounds of apprehension to the present, that the royal countenance was likely to be given as an heirloom for the nation, to despotism and the Papal abomination? To the conscientious and the pious, whose faith, and interests, and hopes, were brought into daily converse with the denunciations of inspired writ against the Romish apostacy,—to the mere moral lover of congenial freedom, whose indignation was still kindled, and his scorn inflamed by the venal intrigues with France, and the criminating facts disclosed in Coleman's correspondence,—the accession of a Papal sovereign, like the effusion of one of the apocalyptic vials,—was a prospect vital with dismay and woe. They pictured the accomplished action—the duke seated on the throne—France and the other Papal

A.D. 1680. powers of the continent crowding to his banner — persecution loosed — tyranny triumphant — the evil then wholly without remedy. With the sceptre once in his grasp, numbers of the English people would, they knew, shrink from incurring the penalties due to rebellion; yet, without an appeal to arms, how could their rights be reclaimed, or their liberties vindicated, under the iron rule of his remorseless will? These and similar considerations drove multitudes at length of the moderate, the discreet, and even the phlegmatic, to the conclusion that the happiest system of limitations that could be framed, would prove but a frail fence against assault, and that there was no safety but in keeping “the terrific lion out of the inner court of the constitution.” Doubt, difficulty, and despair, brought many to this pass of thought; and these in the end became yet more stanch exclusionists than those who had early reached the last alternative. With this class, after much reflection on the subject, it appears that Lord Russell was now numbered. He was the first that spoke after the king’s dissimulating speech. Deprecating the expense of time on secondary points, whilst the life of the king, the safety of the kingdom, and the welfare of religion, were at stake, he moved that the first step of the house should be the suppression of Popery, and the effectual prevention of a Catholic successor. The resolution, coupled with a declaration of attachment to the king’s person, ushered in the debate on the exclusion bill itself. Colonel Titus moved, Lord Russell seconded it. The question was argued with very great ability. The king sent down a message, offering to the house any other than this sweeping remedy. It would have been well, perhaps, had the Commons put his professions to the proof. The nation hung in suspense on the debate, but the royal message did not stop

its course. The bill passed the Commons on the 11th of A.D. 1680. November, and Lord Russell was appointed to carry it up to the Lords, which he did on the 15th, accompanied by more than two hundred members of the house. Several, it is stated, wished it to be kept back for a short time, that the Lords might be better prepared to entertain it; but Lord Russell, animated by exceeding zeal, and having the bill in his hand, ran away with it, in spite of all opposition. The members seeing that, thronged after him, and when it was delivered, gave a mighty shout.

The House of Commons intermitted its proceedings to listen to the Peers' debates; the king also was present. Notwithstanding the ability with which the bill was pressed by Shaftsbury and Essex, the genius and eloquence of Lord Halifax obtained a majority of thirty-three against it; and it was thrown out upon the first reading, without even the ceremony of a conference.

In the first ebullition of his disappointment at this decision, Lord Russell is reported to have said, with the spirit of the Roman Brutus, "If my own father had been one of the majority, I should have voted him an enemy to the king and kingdom!" A message, meanwhile, came from the king on a supply for Tangier. "Sir," said Lord Russell to the speaker, "if ever there should happen in this nation any such change as that I should not have liberty to live a Protestant, I am resolved to die one; and therefore would not willingly have the hands of our enemies strengthened, as they would be if we should give money, while we are sure it must go to the hands of the duke's creatures. Does not the duke's interest endanger the king's life? are not our lives and fortunes in risk of being swallowed up by his power? and shall we make them yet stronger by putting

A.D. 1680. money into their hands ? No, sir, they are too strong already ; but whenever his majesty shall be pleased to free us from the danger of a Popish successor, and remove from his council and places of trust, all those that are for his interest, (because there can be no distinction made between the duke's interest and Popish), then, sir, I will conclude, that what money we shall give, will be disposed of according to his majesty's own royal pleasure, and for the true Protestant interest. And I shall be ready to give all I have in the world, if his majesty should have occasion for it ; but in the meantime, let us not destroy ourselves by our own hands. If we may not be so happy as to better the condition of the nation, let us not make it worse. And until the king shall encourage us to express our duty to him, by giving him money, let us do it by an address." An address, representing the dangerous condition of the kingdom, was accordingly the only answer which the Commons deigned to give.

But the weight of their resentment fell on other objects. Of these, Lord Halifax, from the stand he had made against their bill, was the most obnoxious ; and on the plea that it was he who had advised the dissolution of the last parliament, they besought the monarch to remove him for ever from his councils. There was more reason and justice in their reprobation of Chief Justice Scroggs, who had laboured by the most arbitrary enactments to subvert the freedom of the press. This tyrant of the bench Lord Russell now withstood. The judge had recently discharged the Middlesex grand jury without allowing them time to finish their presentments, being aware of its intention to accuse the Duke of York before him as a Popish recusant. This illegal act Lord Russell brought before the house, and introducing the jury to substantiate the charge, articles of impeachment were

prepared. The subsequent prorogation of parliament cut the A.D. 1680.
arraignment short; but the court shewed some respect to public opinion by removing the chief justice from his office.

The dissatisfaction of the Commons, though for a moment soothed, was not diminished by these assertions of its authority. Charles, finding his message disregarded, came down in person, and, by a promise of concurrence in any remedies short of interrupting the succession, sought to expedite the supply. But as the Commons trusted, that his necessities would yet compel him to throw himself wholly on their generosity, they cared not to abate a tittle of their claims. To guard, however, against any ill construction of their measures, Lord Russell moved the house to supply what money might be needed for the Alliances and Tangier, on Charles's granting the succession bill alone. The proposal was incorporated in an address drawn up by way of answer to the royal speech; whilst a bill, on a suggestion from Lord Cavendish, was brought in with great unanimity for AN ASSOCIATION OF THE WHOLE KINGDOM, to prevent a Catholic succession. This singularly bold step might be designed simply to shew their energy of purpose; but the king, in acknowledging their address, assumed an attitude equally unbending, declaring, that by the decision of the peers on their exclusion bill, his first opinions against it were confirmed. Whereupon Mr. Booth, afterwards Earl of Warrington, proposed, and Lord Russell seconded, the motion, that they should give no money until they had the bill; that there should be no future anticipation of the revenue; and, as a dissolution of the present parliament had been advised, that censures should pass on those who might counsel it. After an animated debate, the resolutions were all but unanimously carried.

Where thus, on the one hand, firmness appeared fast deep-

A.D. 1680. ening into obstinacy, and anger, on the other, settling into violence, but little chance existed of an amicable adjustment. Lord Halifax, indeed, seems to have feared that the difference would only be terminated by a civil war. To account for the unyielding tenacity with which the Commons continued to dispute the point, in the face of so fearful an alternative, it may suffice to state, that, besides their conscientious fears, which rendered every idea of a Catholic reign insufferable, the great leaders of the house were buoyed up by a reliance upon two very different sources of support—the secret influence of Lady Portsmouth, and the bold determination of the people. Lady Portsmouth was absolute mistress of the king's spirit ; she had openly declared herself for the Commons ; and, at one time, as Burnet states, on the authority of Montagu, if she could have had the assured certainty of 800,000*l.* the king's assent to the bill might have been undoubtedly secured. On the other hand, the opposition thought themselves sure of the nation without chance of change, and of all future elections, whilst the perils of Popery were kept in view. It unfortunately happened that their first reliance, from some cause or other, proved fallacious ; and that the second was the rock on which they subsequently split.

Whilst Charles was deliberating on the prorogation of this impracticable parliament, the violence of some fresh resolutions, to which a knowledge of this fact had prompted the Commons, carried him still farther. He pronounced its dissolution, and summoned the next to be held at Oxford, foreseeing that in that city it would be exposed to influences widely different from the popular applause of the metropolis. In despite of a strong petition against this arrangement, signed by the Duke of Monmouth, Earl of Bedford, and fourteen other peers, who urged that the parliament could

not deliberate in safety whilst exposed to the swords of the Catholics and their adherents, he persisted in his determination. The parliament met in March. Up to this moment the people had gone wholly with the Commons; popular members were every where returned, with earnest instructions from their constituents to insist on the Exclusion. No one doubted that the strife was about to be decided. There was on both sides great confidence and mutual mistrust; the popular leaders came armed to the city, and attended by numerous bands of partisans; and the king entered in great pomp, accompanied by his life-guards regularly mustered. A.D. 1681.

Extremely politic and plausible was the speech with which parliament was opened. Its studied effect was to throw opprobrium on the last parliament, and by *shew* of a desire to conciliate the public mind, to place the Commons in the wrong if they should prove refractory. Charles professed himself willing to put the administration of the government into Protestant hands, which was explained to mean the appointment of a regent during the life of the duke, who was to pass the interval of his brother's reign in exile five hundred miles from England. The Commons would not trust to this expedient; the bill for the exclusion was resumed. Lord Russell stated, that, like other members, he had received an address from the county that returned him, desiring him to press for that security alone. For himself, he had long been of opinion that nothing but the exclusion could preserve the Protestant religion. Every day they saw the sad consequences of the duke's power; to what would it not amount, if he succeeded to the crown? Glad should he be, if any other expedient might secure them against Popery; but he knew of none that could. The house thought with him, and rejected the proposed expedients.

A.D. 1681. The king now thought he had the victory in his own hands. He had waited patiently for the moment when, by appearing to have exhausted all forbearance, a national majority might be gathered to his banner. With a vigour singularly at variance with his natural love of ease, he resolved to strike a blow that should set his opponents at defiance. The two houses were embroiled together on the impeachment of Fitzharris; he took advantage of the breach, and precipitately dissolved his six days' parliament, the last he ever chose to call.

Sir William Jones appears to have caught a glimpse of the king's policy, during the sitting of the former parliament, when he declared "that they had hitherto had so little success in their endeavours, that they might justly suspect they were permitted to sit there, rather to destroy themselves than save the country." The whole deplorable reign of James the Second forms the best comment on the foresight of his party. Had their mighty measure passed, the evils of that reign, the expensive wars in which the nation was engaged after the revolution, and the succeeding rebellions, would, in all probability, never have taken place; because none but the most frantic enthusiasts for hereditary succession would have dreamed of taking arms for a right which had been abrogated both by parliament and king. But the die was cast; and the great men who laboured so strenuously for the establishment of civil and religious liberty, were conscious that they lay henceforth exposed to the vengeance of the king and duke. The declaration which the king published of his reasons for the dissolution, operated as the signal of an open-mouthed war upon the Whigs: the Catholic party and the clergy crowded to "pursue the triumph and partake the gale;" and the church, from all its thousand pulpits, re-

sounded with the danger of their desperate projects—subversion of the monarchy—abolition of episcopacy—civil war! The courts of law responded to the clamour; and no terms were thought too strong for enforcing the doctrines of passive obedience and divine hereditary right. The two universities followed; and by their respective declarations seemed bent upon reducing to a scholastic system the odious maxims of slavery. The nation in tame submission crouched beneath the cry; and it is not too much to say, in reference to the cause of constitutional freedom, that “Hope for a season bade the world farewell.” A.D. 1681.

The king took advantage of this frenzy towards royalty, to retaliate on the opposing party, and to settle, on a solid basis, his digest of despotic rule. Previous, however, to commencing this aggressive warfare, he bound himself to France by the stipulation to detach himself from Spain, and to render himself wholly independent of his parliament; and a large subsidy from Lewis was his reward for this fresh treason to his subjects.¹ The history of the remaining years of his reign presents one unvaried scene of vengeance, proscription, and liberticide, from the prosecution of Rouse to the *Quo Warranto* scheme, which, as it was likely to affect future elections and the independence of juries, inflicted an almost mortal stab upon the constitution. It was impossible that the high-minded men who had hitherto opposed the conspiracy of the two brothers, should not endeavour to set limits to their aggressions. There was yet some public virtue left; and accordingly, being denied the power of *parliamentary* resistance, they proceeded to consider what other means were in their reach, for vindicating rights which they were prepared, if necessary, to reconquer with their blood.

¹ For the *proofs* of all these money treaties, see Dalrymple's Appendix.

CHAPTER XX.

FROM THE PARLIAMENT OF OXFORD TO THE DEATH OF WILLIAM,
DUKE OF BEDFORD.

A.D. 1681 — 1700.

The two sections of the opposition... the Southamptons... Earl of Shaftsbury's adherents... Rash projects of the latter, 1683... Discountenanced by the Southamptons... Council of Six... Design for an armed association... Underplot of Lord Shaftsbury's partisans... Apprehension of the conspirators... Trial of Walcot... Lord Russell charged with a participation in their schemes... his trial, July 13... his sublime demeanour... last days... and execution... Letters to Lady Russell... Death of the Countess of Bedford, May 10, 1684... Correspondence on the occasion, May 24-7... Visit of Dyckvelt, Feb. 1687... Mr. Russell's mission to the Prince of Orange... Revolution of 1688... Joy of the Russell family... Reversal of Lord Russell's attainder... Earls of Bedford and Devonshire created dukes... Decline of the former... his death, Sept. 7, 1700... and character.

A.D. 1681. LORD RUSSELL, after the dissolution of parliament, retired to the bosom of his family, and sought for awhile to silence, in that peaceful sphere, the melancholy forebodings of his mind. He still, however, maintained a guarded correspondence with such of his friends as were best able to supply him with intelligence of the designs of the court. "We have all the doleful presages," says one of them to him in October, "of a mighty and terrible tempest; but our hope must be in that wise Pilot who has led his church safely through all the storms she has been in since the day she launched from paradise, and will one day land all his tossed passengers in that above. Storms are His triumphs."¹

¹ Devonshire Papers.

In the course of the summer, when the Prince of Orange A.D. 1683. visited England, he had many confidential conversations with Lord Russell; and when the Duke of Monmouth, upon whom, as an escape from the dreaded Catholic successor, the fancy of the people had been long fixed, made his celebrated progress through the north-west of England in 1682, Lord Russell was one of those who met him at the head of their rural tenantry.

The cloud that had been long collecting at length broke, and some of the most illustrious heads in England received the stroke. The deadly blow inflicted by the forcible election of the London sheriffs, and the odious *quo warranto* process, introduced this crisis, which only an extraordinary concurrence of happy circumstances could have dissipated. But England had no parliament, as in 1641, to give sanction to the confederacy of her defenders,—a want for which, in the contest she was now called upon to wage, no combination of individual wisdom, genius, or courage, could at all compensate. And hence the memorable year of 1683, instead of witnessing the crest and talons of the Dragon shorn, could only furnish martyrs to its fury.

To enter at any length either upon the subtle means resorted to for criminating Lord Russell, upon his empty form of trial, or lamented fate, would be justly deemed a work of supererogation, inasmuch as the noble part which he took in the tragic drama that ensues has become the inheritance of history, and far abler writers have arisen to record his merits, and vindicate his memory from aspersion. Yet the craft that was employed to identify him with agents and designs which he either studiously shunned or scrupulously disapproved, calls for a short narrative of the circumstances that involved him in the meshes of constructive treason. That his active

A.D. 1683. zeal in promoting the Exclusion bill had marked him out for the especial vengeance of the Duke of York, of whom it was well said that forgiveness was not in his nature, no doubt can now be entertained. Lord Russell was himself so well aware of this, as once to have observed to his chaplain, Mr. Johnson, "that he was very sensible he should one day fall a sacrifice, since arbitrary government could never be set up in England without first wading through his blood." This conviction of his danger was not, indeed, allowed to deter him from deliberating with his friends upon some remedy for the public evils; yet it cannot but have put him on his guard against the wilder schemes of hotter and more wilful spirits with whom he might occasionally mingle.

Foremost amongst these in impetuosity, genius, and intrigue, was Ashley, Earl of Shaftsbury. Recent events had only added fury to the vehemence with which he impugned the measures of the court. Lord Russell was connected with him by marriage; and the intimacy had been strengthened by the public measures which they had since pursued in common, though with widely different motives. We find a marked distinction drawn between them and their partisans, by no less a personage than the King of France, in a secret despatch to Barillon, which Dalrymple has omitted to publish, but the great importance of which will be instantly admitted.

"It appears to me," says the monarch, "from all your letters, that there are two kinds of factions opposed to the King of England. The one consisting of persons zealous for the preservation both of the Protestant religion and the national liberty and privileges; the other of state malcontents, who are influenced more by a pure spirit of cabal and love of trouble and disorder, resentment, private interest, and vengeance, than by any real desire to effect a reformation of

the government.”¹ Elsewhere, in announcing that the King of England seemed disposed to consent to the Exclusion bill, if the money he might receive for his consent were uncoupled with too rigorous restrictions on his authority, he throws additional light on the diversities of each. “I know,” he says, “that Lord Shaftsbury has manifested discontent and anger, that Lord Russell, Montagu, and others, called THE SOUTHAMPTONS,² *have designed to act without him*. He considers himself the head of the opposition party, and assumes the lead of all their movements; but the others are not disposed to be wholly at his beck, and have judged themselves able to manage their affairs without him.”³ These discriminating strokes lose none of their intelligence and force when applied to the same parties, on the opening of the last memorable action of Lord Russell’s life.

The violence and injustice manifested by the court in the election of sheriffs, whilst it filled “the Southamptons”

¹ “Il me paroît, par toutes vos dépêches, qu’il y a deux sortes de factions opposées au Roy d’Angleterre. L’une, composée de gens zélés pour la manutention tant de la religion Protestante que des privilèges et liberté de la nation Anglaise; l’autre, de gens mal-satisfaits du gouvernement, et qui agissent plutôt par un pur esprit de cabale, et par le seul plaisir qu’ils trouvent dans le trouble et dans le désordre, que par un véritable dessein de réformer le gouvernement.”—*Fontainbleau, 17me de Mai, 1680*.—“L’autre, qui n’agit que par ressentiment, par vengeance, ou par des intérêts particuliers, seroit plus susceptible des avantages que vous leur pourriez proposer de ma part.”—*Ib.*

² From their meeting at Southampton House, Lord Russell’s residence.

³ “Je sais que Milord Shaftsbury a témoigné de l’aigreur et de la colère que Milord Roussel, M. de Montaigu, et les autres appelés les Southampton, ayent prétendu faire quelque chose sans lui. Il se croit le chef du parti opposé à la cour, et prétend devoir en conduire toutes les démarches. Les autres ne sont pas bien aises d’être entièrement dans sa dépendance, et ont cru pouvoir faire leurs affaires sans lui.”—*13me de Juin, 1681*. Barillon, in reply, acknowledges, in the fullest extent, the truth of Lewis’s conclusions.

The author is indebted for these documents to a nobleman, who was recently permitted by the French ministry to consult the original despatches of Barillon.

A.D. 1683. with melancholy concern, was hailed by Shaftsbury with undisguised delight. For having hitherto fruitlessly attempted to hurry them into every measure suggested by his own incensed spirit, he relied on this sharp foretaste of the temper of the two brothers, to rouse them from supineness, and induce them to submit implicitly to his direction; whilst he proceeded, by the aid of his numerous partisans amongst the citizens, to organise an insurrection that should make him master of the Tower, whence he hoped to dictate to the king his own terms of compromise. He stated his design with the sanguine spirit of a man assured of success, but refused to mention to the Southamptons the agents upon whom he relied for its execution. The Duke of Monmouth, Russell, and Lord Essex, alarmed at his rashness, remonstrated with him on the madness of the scheme. But he was deaf to argument, and proceeded headlong in his own arrangements. He had made free use of their names to his inferior agents; but, angry at their discountenance of his design, he now threw out amidst these strong aspersions of their patriotism. Monmouth and his friends were very sensible of the injury thus done to their credit with a large and serviceable party in the city; he insisted upon seeing the earl at the house of a wine-merchant named Shepherd, and went to Lord Russell, whom the illness of a near relative had brought to town, to request he would attend them thither. Russell willingly consented; and the rather, as he wished to taste some of the merchant's wines. Accompanied, therefore, by Sir Thomas Armstrong and Lord Grey, they called at Shepherd's; but on finding no one there to meet them except Ferguson and Rumsey, two of Shaftsbury's subordinate associates, they were about returning, when Lord Russell asked to taste the vintner's wines. Whilst these were being brought, Rumsey,

who was an old republican, engaged Armstrong in a conversation on some recent device of Shaftsbury's for seizing the king's guards. The former fancied that it might easily have been accomplished; the other pointed out the error of his notion. Lord Russell took no part whatever in the gossip, and as soon as he had proved the wines, he and his party went away. Shaftsbury's absence appears to have arisen from fears for his own personal safety: for having carried on his intrigue even to the naming of a day for the rising, which by the discountenance of the Southamptons he had been reluctantly compelled to change, he was sensitively apprehensive of discovery, and remained at this moment in a concealment known to very few. And thence, in a short time, when delay had paralysed his plans, with much resentment at the party which had refused him its co-operation, he fled to Holland, where he died. A.D. 1683.

From all that has transpired of his hastily concocted project, it is impossible to avoid regarding it as a reckless hazarding of the cause of his country, for the gratification of his own self-will. It was not upon such uncertain chances that Lord Russell's party thought themselves justified in risking the liberties of England. Yet, to deny that they had engaged in frequent meetings, to deliberate on the possible remedies for the national calamities that lay within their reach, would be to defraud them of their greatest glory. In looking for a remedy, the feasibility of an armed resistance would doubtless be considered amongst others. They were men who had ardently approved of the opposition made to the Non-Resisting Test bill; they had lent their aid to prevent its progress, after it had passed the Upper House; and now that absolute tyranny was the obvious aim of the court, evinced as it had been by the secret treaties with France, the securing

A.D. 1683. of obeisant juries, and disuse of parliaments, they did, no doubt, espouse the doctrine, that resistance, if it had a fair prospect of leading, with but little bloodshed, to a happy issue, was become equally a duty and a virtue. So far as their real views had yet acquired consistency, the object of this purer class of patriots, divested of the excrescences that were sought to be engrafted on it, seems to have been,—the formation of AN ARMED ASSOCIATION, which should realise the advantages that floated in Lord Cavendish's mind, when, discussing in the session of 1680 the dangers then in prospect, he proposed, that a “ bill should be brought in for legalising the association of his majesty's Protestant subjects;” an idea that was cordially approved by several succeeding speakers, and to the meaning of which Sir Richard Temple offered a sufficient commentary, when he said, “ the bill of association will be necessary, THAT WE MAY HAVE A LAW TO DEFEND OURSELVES !”¹

When, however, Lord Russell invited this, his dearest friend, to join their consultations, Lord Cavendish is stated to have declined doing so, and to have advised the other to retreat, if he could without dishonour, but to proceed, if he could not. This advice is said to have arisen from the opinion that the steps which the Southamptons were taking were rash and premature.² He may possibly have thought with Burnet,³ that although when the root of the constitution was struck at, subjects might defend themselves; yet, that an ill-laid and ill-managed rising, before things were ripe for it, would be as much the ruin of the nation as Wyatt's insurrection in Queen Mary's time. However this may be, Lord Russell and his friends kept steadfast to their

¹ Parl. Debates, vol. iv. p. 1243.

² Dalrymple, vol. i. p. 81.

³ Burnet's Own Times, vol. i. fol. p. 540.

purpose, either because they were already too far pledged to A.D. 1683. the adventure to abandon it without a trial, or that they thought it was the duty of the friends of freedom to give the tone to public feeling, rather than wait upon its fluctuations ; and hence, that it behoved them to make such preparations of arms and dignified abettors, as would give heart to the nation, whenever it should be stung awake from its abasing torpor. And this consideration seems the more probable, inasmuch as when Burnet, apprehensive that Lord Russell might be implicated in difficulties, stated the above opinion to Lord Essex, this nobleman, whilst thinking that the obligation between prince and subject was so equally mutual, that upon a breach on the one side, the other was free, and that the late injustice in London, and its object, set his party at liberty to look to themselves—yet acknowledged, that matters were not ripe at that moment for a successful rising in the state.¹ The only influence which these counsels, therefore, had, seems to have been to induce a closer secrecy in their deliberations,—a measure which the late design of Shaftsbury would render still more necessary.

Their number was now restricted to a council of six, consisting of Lord Russell, the Duke of Monmouth, Earl Essex, the Lord Hampden, Algernon Sidney, and Lord Howard of Escrick. The latter was a cousin-german of Lord Russell ; yet such was the ill opinion which he entertained of him, that it required all the influence of Essex and Sidney to induce Lord Russell to admit him to their councils. Howard was, in truth, nothing more than a witty and caustic *declaimer* on the vices and encroachments of the court : to their purposes he was something worse ; for he was deep in the confidence, if not designs, of many of Shaftsbury's

¹ Burnet's Own Times, vol. i. p. 540.

A.D. 1683. inferior tools, without any portion of that high determination which occasionally gives to an unprincipled villain, as it did to some of them, a semblance of redeeming virtue.

Without coming to any other conclusion at the outset than to arm themselves and their adherents, and to act on the defensive till a parliament was again called, but with the intent probably to stand prepared for more active steps on any great emergency that might arise, they sought to extend their connexions, particularly in Scotland. To promote this communication, Baillie of Jerviswood came from Scotland, and Fletcher of Saltoun from Holland, where the great Duke of Argyll then was, who readily undertook to purchase a stock of arms and ammunition, and, in the event of their being required, a thousand horse that might be sent to Scotland; for which purpose 8,000*l.* appears to have been transmitted. They had scarcely made these arrangements, when their efforts were arrested by the disclosure of what has usually been termed the Rye-house plot. For, whilst the Six were pursuing their deliberations, Rumsey, West, and Walcot, with others of Lord Shaftsbury's former agents, were considering whether the surest redress would not be found in the assassination of the royal brothers. There yet, however, exists considerable doubt whether this amounted to more than that wild kind of talk in which men of their character have frequently indulged, when heated with political exasperation. In one of their conferences on this subject Lord Howard took a part. Keeling, a vintner, who was sinking in business, and who began to think that of an informer presented the more promising prospect, imparting to Secretary Jenkins what he knew of their designs, was urged to substantiate his tale by witnesses; and, not without strong suspicions of having been tampered with for the purpose, drew in his brother to attest to a treasonable conversation,

which he was purposely brought to overhear with another of the party. On a proclamation being issued against some of the presumed conspirators, Rumsey and West voluntarily delivered themselves, having previously agreed upon the story they should tell, which, however incredible in its details, was implicitly received as fact. A.D. 1683.

When the news was brought Lord Russell that West had given himself up, he happened to be in company with Lord Howard. Observing the latter change colour, Russell asked him if he apprehended any thing from West. He confessed that he had been as free with him as with any man; and being afterwards observed in some perturbation of mind, Lord Hampden advised him, if he imagined there would be any matter against him, the consequence of which he had not the fortitude to bear, to go out of the way. He continued, however, still to frequent company, turning into ridicule the whole affair, until, finding himself accused, he secreted himself in his own house. As yet there was no attempt made to compromise Lord Russell. Rumsey and West had designed to charge the meaner herd alone, till they were compelled, by discrepancies in their statements, to compound for life by constructing their story on a broader basis. Rumsey then recollected the interview at Shepherd's, and implicated Lord Russell in the talk for seizing the king's guards; whilst Howard and Monmouth were charged as parties in the Rye-house plot. Search was made for the former: he was found in his place of concealment. Upon being taken, he burst, like a school-boy, into a flood of tears; and by consenting to become that second accuser for the blood of his relative, which the court was so anxious to obtain, disdained not to purchase, for a few more ignominious years of existence, the scorn and detestation of posterity.

It was now that the innate lustre and nobility of Lord

A.D. 1683. Russell's character most steadily shone out. If in his parliamentary career he had shewn himself less bountifully gifted than some others with that easy and persuasive eloquence which captivates the imagination and subdues the heart, the whole tenour of his temper and behaviour as an attainted man, whose real crime was his integrity, popularity, and patriot spirit, exhibited, from the first moment of his falling into the court toils, a sublime picture of equanimity and dignity, which may justly challenge a comparison with that which irradiated the last hours of Seneca or Socrates. The whole, too, of the fiery ordeal—the tainting accusation, the distorted evidence, the aggravated plea, the furious declamation eager for his blood—the bitter pang of parting from his children, henceforth to be orphans—from his wife, the model of all that was most endearing, lovely, and excellent in woman,—were met, endured, and passed through, with that unaffected serenity and fortitude, which imparts to virtue, overborne by “evil tongues and times,” its most impressive influence,—and to misfortune its most touching pathos. Watched in his house by a court messenger, who gave him the power, and apparently the invitation to escape,—he refused to countenance the criminations of his enemies by flight; pressed, on the one side, by Monmouth with the offer of a participation in his fate if the surrender would be of any service, he calmly sent for answer, that it would be of no advantage to have his friends die with him,—tempted, upon the other, with the generous desire of Lord Cavendish, to save him by exchanging dresses, he rejected the overture; and reading at once in his recent ardour for the Exclusion bill, the jury's verdict and the judge's sentence, his only study was to fall with honour—less, however, with a Cæsar's grace, than with a Christian's and a martyr's dignity.

The process that was to decide upon his fate was hurried

forward with the most intemperate haste. The crown law- A.D. 1683.
yers rapidly brought together, from the coinages, or varying disclosures of those who had the wickedness to become his public accusers, all the colourable incidents they could collect, in order to build up the constructive treason. The case was managed with great art. Walcot and Rouse, two of the Rye-house conspirators, were first brought to trial, in order that their conviction for the meditated assassination of the king might cast its own malignant shadow on the party who was next arraigned. This desired conviction they procured, and fixed the trial of Lord Russell to commence on the 13th of July, a few days after. He was charged with conspiring with other traitors to bring the king to death, to raise war and rebellion against him, and to massacre his subjects; and as a means to effect this, with determining to seize the guards and the person of his majesty.

With a serenity that excited the highest admiration, Lord Russell appeared at the bar of the Old Bailey.¹ Every hardship that could be inflicted by angry and vindictive enemies, the steady patriot was doomed that day to bear. Even before he opened his lips in his defence, he was treated by Sawyer, the attorney-general, like a guilty felon. His request for the delay of a few hours, till his witnesses might arrive in town, though twice pleaded for by the chief justice, with a shew of compassion, was absolutely negatived. His right to the challenge of such jurors as possessed no freehold, was questioned—was impugned—was overruled. The death of his friend, Lord Essex, whom he

¹ The genius of Mr. Hayter, whose imaginative eye has been illuminated as with a distinct vision of the pomp of that ill-starred tribunal and its malevolent assessors, has fixed the whole impressive scene on canvass, for the admiration of other ages as well as of our own. His picture of the Trial is at Woburn Abbey.

A.D. 1683. has described as the worthiest, the justest, the sincerest man, and the most concerned for the welfare of the public that existed, was tortured into an incontestable proof of guilt, and made—like the whole laboured structure of testimony founded upon the frantic scheme of Shaftsbury, which he and Monmouth had actively denounced—to press upon him with its extraneous and cumulative weight. He at length requested pens and an amanuensis. To prevent his having the aid of counsel, Sawyer said he might employ a *servant*. “Any of your servants,” said Pemberton, “shall assist in writing for you.” “*Two*,” said the generous Jeffries, “he may have *two*!” “My wife,” said Lord Russell, the heart of the husband and the father rising to his tongue, “my wife is here, my Lord, to do it!” The by-standers turned, and saw the daughter of the most virtuous minister whom Charles had ever possessed or disregarded, take her station at the table; and pity, shame, and sorrow, and holy reverence, and thrilling indignation, touched by turns the soul of every one who had a heart to feel for his country or himself, for wounded virtue or for violated freedom.

The charge went on; the witnesses were dexterously guided to their mark. They did their spiriting but lamely, needing frequently the prompter’s question. It is not, however, our intention to lay bare the vague, the ill-sustained asseverations, or untwist the implicated threads of a West’s or a Howard’s evidence. Whoever will take the trouble to read the minutes of the trial, will rise well satisfied from the perusal. Amidst the mazy collocations of incoherent incidents, allegations, and discourses, throughout which he wanders, he will yet perhaps discern a few traces of the real course which the patriot and his party were bent upon pursuing for the salvation of their country; as the hoary atmosphere which

presents to a spectator the apparition of mock suns and of unreal shadows, may occasionally open and give glimpses of the real luminary, as it struggles through the haze. The defence which Lord Russell made was in harmony with his character, —unambitious, manly, and in consistence with itself. In a few lucid and pertinent remarks, he touched upon all the material points of law that were involved in the evidence against him. His own inclination would have led him to avow the part he had actually taken, but he preferred the safety of friends whom this disclosure might have compromised, to his own effectual vindication; and, leaving his honour to the justice of Heaven and posterity, he contented himself with an indignant disavowal of the treason in which it was the object of his enemies, by every inference, to involve him. By inference he fell. He was adjudged guilty of the various counts of the indictment; but it needs no long citation —no anxious statement of the decisions of consentaneous historians, to repudiate the verdict. The voice of truth still speaks in the language of that parliament which, in cancelling his attainder, has declared, “That by undue and illegal return of jurors, having been refused his lawful challenge to them, for the want of freehold, and by partial and unjust constructions of law, he was wrongfully attainted and convicted.”

From the moment of his being cited for examination before the privy council, Lord Russell prepared himself for death. Upon entering the Tower, he said to his gentleman-usher, Andrew Taunton, that he was sworn against, and that they would have his life. When Taunton expressed a hope that this would not be in the power of any of his enemies,—“Yes,” said Lord Russell, as though fully sensible of the “mystery of iniquity” which was now at work, and conscious that his warfare had been waged, not only against “wickedness in

A.D. 1683. high places," but "against principalities, against powers, and the rulers of the darkness of this world,"—"Yes," he exclaimed emphatically, "for the devil is broke loose!" To his wife he stated his entire willingness to leave the world; and on receiving a letter from her, full of high-minded exhortations, he declared, in a transport of admiration at the heroism she evinced, "that he was at that moment above all earthly things,—above lieutenant, constable, or king, or duke."

When not engaged in preparing for his trial, or seeing his friends, he devoted his hours to the Scriptures. And, during the week that elapsed between his conviction and execution, his mind, by a constant succession of religious offices, had settled into so happy a serenity, as to manifest to Dr. Burnet, to whom he opened himself with perfect unreserve, an absolute triumph over death. The whole narrative, in fact, which that divine has left of his last days, is fraught with the most affecting tokens of his magnanimity and mildness, his fortitude and resignation, forgiveness of injuries, affection to his family, love of his country, and piety to God. To that devoted counsellor he, amongst other things, confessed, that of all he had done, both in his public and private character, for many years past, he had made great conscience, and that this now rewarded him with so deep an inward peace, and such a clear assurance of Divine acceptance, as to render his approaching exit, except as it affected others, scarcely worth a thought.

The many touching and sublime proofs which he thus exhibited of innocence and virtue, rendered the anticipation of his loss increasingly bitter to his family and friends. The greatest interest was made by them for a reprieve and pardon. The Earl of Bedford is said to have offered 50,000*l.*, some say 100,000*l.*, to the Duchess of Portsmouth, for her inter-

vention, if it proved successful ; and in a letter which he A.D. 1633. himself wrote to the king, he pathetically assures him, that he would think himself happy to be left only with bread and water, so that the life of so endeared a son were spared to him. It is not improbable that Charles would have relented to these and similar entreaties, had he not been steeled against forgiveness by his inexorable brother: for he afterwards declared to Monmouth that he had been inclined to save him, but was forced to consent to his execution, in order to keep well with the Duke of York. Even with this consideration to sustain him, he appears to have mistrusted his own firmness, when he forbade the admission of Lady Russell to his presence, lest he should be moved by her distress. And it was universally remarked, that whilst Charles shrank from all conversation on the subject, the duke listened to all that was said to him with a placid equanimity, which but too evidently revealed his secret satisfaction.

But it was by Lady Russell that the most unwearied efforts were exerted. As a woman, a mother, and a wife, although by nature, by tender feeling, and unbounded conjugal affection, pleading with the most forcible accents in one of the gentlest bosoms that ever thrilled with the charities of life, she was rendered doubly accessible, in that trying hour, to softness, to weakness, to overwhelming sorrow,—yet, whether inspired by the crisis with more than the wonted energy of virtue, or strengthened by Heaven with peculiar fortitude, in order to shew to other ages how perfect an example could be furnished of the sufficiency of its high and holy influences, to elevate and to sustain the mind which it permits to be afflicted,—she yielded to the pangs neither of nature, feeling, nor affection ; but maintaining a serene composure amidst all that she endured, made her own triumph over the sympathies

A.D. 1683. of life equal to the conquest of her lord over the terrors of the grave. She forgot her softness to encourage his endurance, her tenderness to establish his composure, and her unutterable sorrow to quicken his devotion. She had been before his trial as usefully active as the merest lawyer could have been in furnishing or procuring him information, counsel, and legal knowledge, for conducting his defence; and she now applied herself with an untiring industry in making every intercession to friendship or power that she could make without derogating from her self-respect. Apprised at length that a formal petition was the only means of access open for her, she earnestly besought her husband to send petitions to the king and duke. He, although entertaining no hope of success from such expedients, and frequently expressing a strong desire that she would “give over thus beating every bush,” yielded to her importunity, in the hope that it would hereafter be some consolation to her to reflect that she had not omitted any means of averting from herself and her children so heavy a calamity. The petitions were accordingly sent, but they had small effect. The king was then reminded by Lord Dartmouth, that whilst the pardon of Lord Russell would lay an eternal obligation on a great and numerous family, the taking of his life could never be forgiven; and that some regard at least was due to the daughter and children of his faithful minister Southampton. Charles is stated to have admitted the full force of this plea, but refused to revoke the fatal sentence.

It was still, however, believed, by the more sanguine of Lord Russell’s friends, that the king might ultimately yield, if his lordship would own an opinion, that forcible resistance to the sovereign was in all cases unjustifiable; and when, by some misunderstanding of his sentiments, the

king was told that he had assented to this view, he was A.D. 1683. more moved than with any other thing that had been urged. But although Lord Russell repeatedly expressed to Burnet his willingness to be convinced, no argument which either he or Tillotson adduced, could shake, or even stir the conscientious firmness of his thoughts upon this topic ; and he accordingly left behind him upon record, in temperate but strong expressions, his dissent from that favourite doctrine of ambitious courtiers and despotic princes.

The day before his death was spent by Lord Russell principally in devotion. He received the sacrament from Tillotson ; he heard two short sermons from Burnet with great attention, and was engaged in intimate conversation with him till towards evening ; in the course of which he mentioned that he had a full calm in his mind, no palpitation at heart, nor trembling at the thoughts of death ; but that he was much concerned at the cloud that seemed to hang over his country, though he hoped his death would do more service to the nation than his life ever could have done. When this interview was over, he received the visits of a few other of his friends, and with great constancy of temper took his last leave of them, and of his innocent young children. His lady stayed, at his desire, to partake with him of his last earthly meal ; during which he cheerfully conversed on various subjects connected with the future welfare of his family, and on the memorable words of dying men ; not taking the impression of her's and others' sorrow, but rather setting upon their grief the seal of his own serenity. His wife was at length left alone with him ; she too arose to go, in an agony of spirit, but perfectly composed and calm, controlling her own emotion that he might retain the mastery of his. He tenderly kissed her ; he for the last time em-

A.D. 1683. braced her; and gazed after her as she departed, with a feeling that condensed into that one moment the emotions, the trials, and the griefs of years. Under the rebound that succeeded this dreaded and desolate farewell, a less steady and well-regulated heart had been convulsed or broken. But he, when the doors of his earthly prison-house had closed on her angelic presence,—upheld by the prospect of a re-union in happier mansions, “where the wicked cease from troubling,” turned only to Dr. Burnet, by whom he was now rejoined; and every regret being swallowed up in the fulness of this hope, and in admiration of her incomparable excellencies, he exclaimed, “The bitterness of death is over!”

It is painful to dwell upon the memory of scenes like these. Truth, patriotism, and freedom, have their martyrs, as well as Christianity. The tears of all were commingled for Lord Russell. On the following morning the metropolis sent forth its multitudes, to gaze, to sorrow, or to glow over the contemplation of a memorable and a mournful sight. To the citizens that kept aloof it was a dreary interval. But before the bells had tolled eleven, the populace was seen returning: all that was mortal of the great and good Lord Russell had paid its debt to vengeance; and that which was impassive and immortal, it is consoling to believe, had passed into the skies, “admitted,” in the closing language of his address, delivered to the sheriffs on the scaffold, “into the fellowship of angels and of saints, in that blessed inheritance purchased for him by his most merciful Redeemer,” into whose hands he commended his departing spirit.

His demeanour on the day of execution was an exact counterpart of that which had previously distinguished him. Once only, on his way to the scaffold, when he looked towards Southampton house, where he had spent so many

happy hours, a tear involuntarily started to his eye, which A.D. 1683. he quickly wiped away. It is said that the Duke of York had proposed that his execution should take place before the very windows of that mansion; and there is nothing in the personal history of the man who could witness, unmoved, the frequent infliction of the torture, and the shameless murder of the unfortunate Lady Lisle, to forbid our belief of such an incident. But no feelings of resentment, hardly as he had been used, mingled with Lord Russell's last emotions. He declared that he died in charity with all the world; sent an earnest commission to one friend in particular, against all revenge for what had been inflicted on him; and after winding up his watch, and bidding a farewell to time—after professing his own innocence of any plot against either the king's life or government, and praying for the union of all Protestants and the continuance of the Protestant religion, “so long as the sun and moon endured,” he devoutly and peacefully welcomed that eternity into whose radiant cycle his spirit was soon gathered.

There is a life in the principles of freedom which the axe of the executioner does not, for it cannot, touch. The court gained nothing by the murder of Lord Russell but a very few years of unrestrained oppression. Even before that blow was struck, the credit of the plot and its witnesses was greatly shaken: the dying asseverations of Walcot gave force to the public suspicions; and the legacy which Lord Russell bequeathed to his countrymen in the address explanatory of his public conduct, deepened yet more the prevalent impression of the iniquity that had been committed under form of law. Within the brilliant circle of his flatterers, and in the moment of his sated triumph, the Duke of York found himself haunted by the reputation of his victim, and was both

A.D. 1683. disappointed and irritated by the intrusion of the visitant. For when Burnet, upon the false suspicion of having written that address, was cited before the privy council, and by the king's command read the narrative which he had drawn up of the last days of our illustrious patriot, the duke seemed to regard it as a studied insult on himself, and gave the doctor such public proofs of his resentment, that he soon after thought it prudent to withdraw from England.

The cloud thus rested for the present on the tabernacle of the nation's liberty. The march of her army, though by no means terminated, was impeded by this great event, in the political wilderness. In the hour of darkness that overshadowed now the land, Tory principles flourished for awhile unchecked, under their worst and most forbidding aspect; their partisans alleging that the discovery of the late " execrable plot against the Lord's anointed," had decided the argument between prerogative and subjection, and had shewn the strict necessity of an obedience purely passive. The University of Oxford was the first public body that cheered on this new crusade of James. On the very day of Lord Russell's execution, July 21, 1683, they passed in convocation, and presented to the king, their formal judgment and decree against twenty-seven propositions collected out of the works of Buchanan, Julian Johnson, Owen, Baxter, Milton, and others hostile to their dogma, " false propositions, damnable doctrines," as they called them, " impious, seditious; most of them heretical and blasphemous; infamous to the Christian religion, and destructive to all government, both in church and state:"¹ and they condemned, at the same time, the books whence the sentiments were taken to be burnt in the public court of the schools. Encouraged by the spiritual

¹ They are given in Lord Somers' Tracts, vol. viii. p. 421.

thunders of this portion of the English church, and doubtless A.D. 1683. hailing in them its approximation to the principles and temper of his own, James looked back for a moment with complacency on that one champion of Freedom whose destruction he had sealed; and then fearlessly proceeded "to wage war with the remnant of her seed."

Charles did not live to witness many of his brother's subsequent achievements, dying on the 2d of February, 1685. But, short as was the intervening period, the annals of his rule were stained by numerous other executions; amongst which, those of the high-spirited and noble Jarviswood, the tortured Carstairs, and the unconquerable Sidney, have ever been marked out for peculiar execration. A few of their proscribed and doomed compatriots were, however, happy in escaping the whole terrible array of tyranny—the inquisition, the torture, and the axe; and of this little phalanx were the Lords Hampden, Melville, and Loudon, and the good Sir Patrick Hume—the last, Lord Russell's relative, and endeared to our remembrance by the touching and romantic narrative of his escape from the "authorised assassins;" by the devoted attendance on him in the vault by his heroic daughter;¹ and the consistent part which he continued still to take, till the Revolution restored him with honour to his country, under the title of Lord Marchmont.

"Thus," says Mr. Fox, "fell Russell and Sidney, two names that will, it is hoped, be for ever dear to every English heart. When their memory shall cease to be an object of respect and veneration, it requires no spirit of prophecy to foretell that English liberty will be fast approaching to its final consummation. Their deportment was such as might be expected from men who knew themselves to be

¹ See the Account in the Appendix to "Rose's Observations on Fox's James the Second," given by Sir Patrick's grand-daughter, the Lady Murray. Also, *Edin. Rev.* vol. xiv. p. 507.

A.D. 1683. suffering, not for their crimes, but for their virtues. In courage they were equal; but the fortitude of Russell, who was connected with the world by private and domestic ties, which Sidney had not, was put to the severer trial; and the story of the last days of this excellent man's life, fills the mind with such a mixture of tenderness and admiration, that I know not any scene in history that more powerfully excites our sympathy, or goes more directly to the heart."¹

The general character of Lord Russell may perhaps be sufficiently gathered from these imperfect pages; but we can scarcely avoid referring the reader to that brief delineation of it, which has been drawn with equal discrimination and truth by his descendant, whose great ambition it has been, from the first moment of his entering public life, by measures long, laboriously, and at length successfully pursued, to place every class of the British nation in the actual enjoyment of those civil and religious rights, for which his illustrious ancestor so nobly, but ineffectually struggled.²

Over the sorrows of Lady Russell and the Earl of Bedford it is the duty of decorous reverence to draw the veil. Early in the month of August, the former left her dreary home in London, and, with her three orphan children, too young yet to know the greatness of their loss, took up her residence at Woburn Abbey, with the earl and countess. Her friends were all assiduous in their efforts to comfort and console her; and the following unpublished letters are not without their interest at this joyless period of her story.

MR. COXE TO LADY RUSSELL.

London, Oct. 23, 1683.

Madam, —The honour of your ladyship's of the 18th instant, I received the 20th, wherein every line speaks that faithful and most deep and endeared impression which has been upon your

¹ Fox's James II. p. 50. ² Life of William, Lord Russell, v. ii. p. 108.

soul, and will ever remain, of that saint whom God has taken from A.D. 1684. this tumultuary world into his blessed mansions. It is not for any man to prescribe to your ladyship the bounds and limits of your sorrow. But it is not only lawful, but the duty of every worthy man who knew that incomparable lord, to present to himself, and as much as possible to others, the lively image of his true worth and excellency. Had he been a man of common measures in his lifetime, his last scene, with all the circumstances of it, had been less conspicuous, and taken up less room in the hearts of all good men. But God first enlightened and instructed him; gave his lordship and your honourable self a happy possession and enjoyment of each other, for the space of fourteen years, of the clearest and most judicious part of your lives, and at last called you both out to act that great part in which he, as to this world, concluded; leaving to your ladyship the monumental part of this great and heroic action upon earth, so long as God shall continue you here; whilst he is in the possession of that immortal glory which God had long (especially during all the time of your mutual enjoyment) been preparing him for—and why should I not say, been preparing your ladyship no less? Every good and serious discourse you had together, every time you spoke or read, or prayed together, contributed toward the fitting of you both for what was, once for all, to be performed in the running and accomplishing of that great race, which he has happily concluded; and which you remain to perfect and complete in your person, by bringing up the rear in this great solemnity. Rejoice now that you have been found worthy to draw Christ's yoke with such a yoke-fellow; and to have that crown of thorns which he wore, and has now laid down, to be set upon your head and worn by you, whilst he has received his crown, glorious and immortal.

In all humility I remain, madam, your ladyship's most obedient
and most humble servant,

THOMAS COXE.¹

DR. BATES TO LADY RUSSELL.

London, Feb. 2, 1683 $\frac{1}{4}$.

Madam,—I had some hopes that, after such an interval of time, your spirit had recovered some strength to resist the violence

¹ Devonshire MSS.

A.D. 1684. of your sorrow; but I perceive you are still very disconsolate. 'Tis true your loss was so great, and your sorrow is so just, that to attempt the assuaging it by mere human considerations would be in vain; but 'tis not above the remedy which the word of God offers to you. Methinks God speaks to your afflicted spirit, with a little variation, in the words of Elkanah to his distressed consort, "Am not I better to thee than ten husbands?" The extraordinary circumstances that exasperate your sorrow, may, by Divine grace, be a happy advantage to declare your more entire and resigned submission to the wisdom and the will of God. Consider—was it not, Madam, your most ardent desire for your dear lord and yourself, that you might, at the end of this short life, obtain and enjoy together the heavenly glory?—you have this consolation, that half of your desire is accomplished. Your dearest part has fought the good fight, has overcome the last enemy, and is crowned; and can you be so afflicted for your absence from him as not to rejoice more in his felicity? I know that you, who so perfectly loved him, cannot cherish such a low affection, to be more concerned for your own temporal interest than to be pleased with the belief of his everlasting happiness. I have in my thoughts often applied to your ladyship the verses of our divine poet,—

"The most of me to heaven is fled;
My joys are all packed up and gone,
And for their old acquaintance plead."

There, Madam, let your conversation be; let your most serious thoughts, earnest affections, and the tendency of your life, be for heaven, where you will be united to your most dear husband, by a love infinitely more pure and noble than that which warmed your breast here. I most heartily recommend you and your relatives to the Divine mercy, and am, Madam, your most humble and obedient servant,

WILLIAM BATES.¹

The published letters of Lady Russell, in reply to these or similar condolences of her friends,—which exhibit so bright a picture of piety and resignation struggling with the impulses of unalterable sorrow, present us at every page with

¹ Bedford Papers.

some new feature of her character—some fresh insight into A.D. 1684. the hidden treasures of her heart. In them she has run through all the notes of wo; and graced them in her course with so many exquisite touches of inspired devotion, and assenting faith, and fervent love, and anticipated rapture, as to draw seraphic sweetness from them all. They are eloquent with truth; they are instinct with wisdom and instruction: for every mood of her afflicted spirit, however fondly cherished, or however long sustained, is made by her at length subservient to duty. It is under the exercise and influence of this regulating principle, that we so often see in them her anguish softening into a mild melancholy, her distraction calmed into composure, her self-aggravating thoughts and harrowing reflections melting into grateful acknowledgments of past and present blessings, her heaviest complaints subsiding into the deepest adoration, and her darkest doubts becoming radiant with the lights of immortality. By degrees our sympathy with the sufferer is lost in the kindling animation of the saint; but after breathing with her for a while the sacred airs of heaven, we find ourselves tracing at her side again the unforgotten wilds of earth,—revisiting each haunt of former joy and comfort, where she had seen, or smiled, or talked with her endeared companion,—until some fresh appeal of faith, or claim of duty from the living, calls her hastily away from that charmed dreaming of the dead.

Next to the duty of an un murmuring acquiescence in the dispensations of unerring Wisdom, the most powerful incentive to Lady Russell, in overcoming the stupor of vain sorrow, was furnished by the responsibilities devolved on her by the condition of her orphan children. Her son, Wriothesley, was an infant scarcely three years old; but her daughters, now at the age of nine and seven, with minds not altogether

A.D. 1684. unconscious of their recent deprivation, inquisitive for knowledge, and ready to obey every impulse that might be given them, presented claims to her care to which her bosom tremblingly responded. Her sense of what was due to the memory of her lost husband heightened the sacredness of this engagement; and she formed the resolution, not merely of superintending, but of conducting their education. To this new object she devoted herself with successful assiduity; and in this occupation, relieved only by the occasional pleasure which the pursuit awakened, her melancholy hours crept on. To soothe, also, and support the Earl of Bedford in his trial, her active tenderness was frequently exerted; and this, in May 1684, was more than ever called for, by the additional affliction occasioned by the death of Lady Bedford.

The health of this amiable lady had received a shock from which it never recovered: from the moment of Lord Russell's tragic death it visibly declined; and in musings on his manly virtues, and her own irreparable loss, she pined silently away, like another Anticlea, whose moving complaints may so forcibly illustrate her own.¹ Yet her death is said to have been accelerated by another incident of striking pathos—the accidental sight, in a window of the earl's study, of a pamphlet commenting on her mother's guilt, of which she is stated to have been till then mercifully kept in ignorance. The pang of this disclosure was too great for her enfeebled frame to bear; and, in the recoil of concentrated feeling, the chord of

¹ For thee, my son, I wept my life away;
Nor came my fate by lingering pains and slow,
Nor bent the silver-shafted queen her bow;
No dire disease bereaved me of my breath,—
Thou, thou, my son, wert my disease and death;
Unkindly with my love my son conspired—
In thee I lived, for absent thee expired.—*Odyssey*, book xi.

life gave way. She was found senseless by her attendants, A.D. 1684. with the open page before her; and a passage in one of Lady Russell's letters favours the supposition, that if her gentle spirit had been strengthened to survive the shock, it would have been only purchased by the wreck of reason. She was interred in the family vault at Chenies; and Lady Russell attended the funeral procession, having an irresistible desire to visit the spot where her husband's relics were deposited. Her sensations on the visit, the value of her affectionate attentions to the Earl of Bedford, and the Christian fortitude with which the latter bore his trials, may be aptly gathered from the following unpublished correspondence.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

Woburn Abbey, May 24, 1684.

Let this, good doctor, acknowledge the favour of your excellent letter, writ the 7th of this month. I have not yet had the occasion of profiting, as I hope to do, from your instructions in it, in the time I expect to spend at Stratton; that journey being delayed first by the lawyers, and next, which would alone have done it, by the death of Lady Bedford. I could not choose to leave a good man that has been and is so very tender to me, under a new oppression of sorrow. He is a stronger Christian, and therefore does his duty in all trials better than I can do; yet, sure I may maintain there is no comparison in our losses. Though it is, I can easily believe, difficult parting from a friend one has lived easily with near fifty years; yet, when it falls away, like ripe fruit that must be gathered, or if it remain hanging some time longer must become insignificant, surely it wants the aggravations of mine ever-to-be-lamented calamity. But I must not, you tell me, give way, or too much time, to muse, or rather be astonished at what has happened to me. I say, and I truly think do say sincerely, God's will be done on earth as it is done in heaven; but the interruption I find is, was this his determination? had we not a free choice?—yes, sure we had; but 'tis as sure he permitted it—and there I must rest, and meekly submit to this most heavy dispensation. I do confess

A.D. 1684. and fear I have not thankfulness enough for the blessings I have yet remaining, as if I could relish nothing here without that sharer of my joys and sorrows ; but I pray I may, and in God's own time shall, be heard : he will not suffer the eye that waits on him to fail, and “ though he slay me, I will trust in him.”

My Lady Gainsborough tells me they are all to be at Andover this month ; and I hear my Lady Northampton and Dursley go ; she must contrive mightily to lodge them all. We have it as news, that my nephew and Miss Worsley will make a match ; I shall not wonder if he likes her, for she is a fine girl truly. I have not fixed my time yet, being once unfixed ; yet I have fed my fancy with seeing that place (Stratton), and believe I should be the easier after it.

I took the opportunity of seeing another lately, with those who performed the last solemnity to their dead mother, which I had as much bent my thoughts upon, though I concealed them till just as I went to do it, which was about a week before I did. I told Lord Bedford my resolve, but as one I could not be diverted from ; that I had ever intended it my first visit ; so, designing for Stratton the week after, I went this a few days before it. I think in two days after I had told, and afflicted him with the thought I would do it, she (the countess) grew worse ; so, foreseeing what would happen, I deferred it ; but I have accomplished it, and am not the worse, having satisfied my longing mind, and that is a little ease—such degrees as I must look for. I had some business there ; for that to me precious and delicious friend desired I would make a little monument for us ; and I had never seen the place,—had set a day to see it with him not three months before he was carried thither, but was prevented by the boy's illness. I must conclude abruptly, or not at all, while I have paper to write on ; but I will use no more of this than to sign myself your sad but sincere friend,

R. RUSSELL.¹

RICHARD BAXTER TO REV. J. THORNTON.

May 27, 1684.

I received yours, with the expressions of my Lord of Bedford's kindness, for which, I pray you, return him my humble thanks.

¹ Devonshire Papers.

I understand that, since then, God has taken away his lady. If the A.D. 1684.
 everlasting habitations were not better than this wicked, miserable
 world, who could forbear wishing that he had never been born?
 But with this flesh, the faithful lay by their imperfections; and,
 bad as we are, there is so much pleasure in the entire love and
 society of good men on earth, that a little tells us what it will be to
 live with perfectly loving saints in the perfected heavenly church
 for ever. If we had a world of men on earth as good as some of
 my acquaintance are in sincere love, humility, and good works,
 I doubt it would make us loath to die, and ready to say with Peter,
 “It is good to be here.” And if all the whole world were as bad
 as the malicious serpent’s seed, it would tempt us to think that man
 was never made for any better. But (for all our weakness) the
 conspicuous difference between the holy and the serpent’s seed
 doth greatly tend to confirm our faith that there is a heaven and a
 hell, when we see them both begun on earth. And now the wolvis-
 h part doth drive us from thinking of a rest on earth, while the sancti-
 fied part doth but tell us how much better company we shall have
 above. O that we had more of a holy love to God and one another
 on earth, that it might be a foretaste and notice to us (more than
 hearsay) what we shall be and have in heaven. What the light
 and warmth of the sun are to us on earth, that God, by communi-
 cated knowledge and love, will be to all that dwell with him. Light,
 Love, and Joy, are not mere accidents of heaven, but its very essence.
 O that we did more study heaven, as it is *Love*! Every saint there
 will love us better than husband, or wife, or the dearest friend on
 earth did ever love each other; and the whole society is but one
 love and joy, by the union of many. And Christ will love us more
 than they; and then we shall sweetlier understand that word (which
 I value above any word in the Bible or world), “GOD IS LOVE;
 and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him.”
 To dwell in heaven is to dwell in perfect love; and they are the
 best on earth who are the likeliest to that state.

I pray thank my lord for his great liberality. Pardon this
 tediousness, and present my service to my lord, and to the Lady
 Russell. I rest your unworthy brother, hasting homeward,

RICHARD BAXTER.¹

¹ Bedford Papers.

A.D. 1684. Tolerant in all his opinions, knowing no party in religion, but preserving a sincere esteem for the good and great of all professions, the hardships to which the persecuted Non-conformists were now more than ever subjected, attracted the earl's sympathy ; and he nobly stood forth as the protector of many of their ministers, whilst his private papers bear testimony to the great generosity with which he relieved their temporal distresses. Isaac Ambrose, in one of his epistles, states of the earl, that he was accustomed to declare, that " he considered the prayers of God's ministers as the best walls around his mansion." Nor is it uninteresting to find, that Lady Russell had the same liberal and enlightened views ; for, whilst expressing to one who had recommended her a chaplain, her decided preference of the church of England, as containing in it the best offices and services that could any where, she thought, be found, she declares, with an honourable jealousy for the rights of private judgment, that " she should desire one so moderate as not to be impatient and passionate against such as would not think so too ; but of such a temper as to be able to converse peaceably with such as might have freedom in her family, though not themselves of that belief, without giving them offence ;" and this she considers " the best way of gaining the good and virtuous to her own opinion on religious truth."

Into the farther particulars of their personal history for the next few years, it is not necessary for us to enter. The fluctuations of Lady Russell's lacerated feelings, with the family incidents that most interested or affected her, are sufficiently depicted in her letters ; whilst the admirable qualities which, like the sweetness drawn from the pressure of the myrtle, she displayed at this period of her adversity, in every strait of her affairs, have met with an appropriate commen-

tator in Miss Berry. She had occasionally to mourn the loss A.D. 1687.
of other relatives and friends, whose memory she embalmed with her “melodious tears;” and many of the public occurrences—the fatal expedition of the Duke of Monmouth—the trial of Lord Delamere—the enormous fines inflicted on the patriotic Earl of Devonshire—and the general subversion that seemed ready to overwhelm the remaining liberties and the religion of her country, inflicted fresh wounds in her bosom, or caused her former immedicable one to bleed afresh. The progress of James’s tyranny was watched by the Earl of Bedford, if possible, with a yet more anxious interest. After the trial of the bishops, and Rochester’s dismissal from the ministry, it was obvious that some momentous crisis was approaching; but in the midst of the Egyptian darkness that prevailed, the earl and his party derived hope from the almost universal dissatisfaction which his bigotry excited, and looked steadfastly to Holland till they saw the morning break. In February 1687, M. Dyckvelt was sent by that court on a special embassy to England, with secret instructions to unite the heads of parties there, and otherwise to prepare the way for the regeneration of the national interests. On the 24th of March, he honoured the Earl of Bedford and Lady Russell with a visit, being charged by the Prince and Princess of Orange to express the feeling sense which they had ever entertained of their terrible misfortunes, and the reverence which they bore to the memory of Lord Russell; and to assure them, that, if they should ever have the power, there was nothing they could ask which the prince and princess would not find content in granting.

In May, after having diligently sounded the opinions of men of all parties and complexions, the Dutch envoy returned home. He was the bearer of letters from the prin-

A.D. 1687. cipal of the English nobility ; and amongst them we find one, in brief but significant language, from the Earl of Bedford.¹

The impulse given by Dyckvelt's mission, ripened quickly into action, and the celebrated Association was soon organised, which formed the nucleus of the revolution, consisting of the Marquess of Halifax, the Earls of Devonshire, Shrewsbury, Nottingham, and Danby, the Bishop of London, and Admirals Herbert and Russell, by whom the temper of the fleet was moulded into a concurrence with the great design, as it gradually became matured.

The parentage of Edward, afterwards Admiral Russell, has been already mentioned. Born in 1652, he early embraced the naval profession ; and after passing through the usual course of service, became the commander of several successive ships. He had been one of the gentlemen of King James's bedchamber, when Duke of York ; but the execution of his cousin naturally drove him from the court ; and the memory of this private wrong added intensity to the indignation which he conceived from the subsequent tyranny of James. He therefore readily undertook the hazardous commission of managing such negotiations with the prince as the nature of the case required ; and having a sister resident in Holland, he, in the May of 1688, passed over to the Hague without suspicion, and represented to William the desire entertained by the great men of England to know precisely what might be expected from him.

With the prince's answer he returned to England ; the necessary overtures and preparations were arranged ; and in September he once more went to Holland, with the Earl of Shrewsbury, bearing letters of invitation to the prince

¹ See it in Dalrymple, vol. ii. p. 199.

from the most illustrious personages in the kingdom; they A.D. 1688. were succeeded by others, with a scheme for the whole enterprise. The long-sustained secrecy, the hasty arming, the final penetration into the object of the armament, and the swift precautions of the tyrant, passed like so many tumultuous visions before the alarmed anticipants of freedom. Fear predominated at this moment with them — hope the next; and all England trembled at the poising of the balances. They hung most literally on the elements. The superstitious tyrant called the Host in to his succour, and smiled with satisfaction at the success of his expedient, when he heard of the storm that had scattered the vessels of his foes. But their fleet was soon refitted; the prince's declaration was dispersed through England. On the 4th of October, attended by some English pilots, Russell went on board the prince's ship, which was committed to his guidance; but an invisible Providence, as if to vindicate its own supremacy at this momentous crisis, counteracted the skill of the pilots. The same strong east wind, indeed, which carried this fleet through the channel prevented the English fleet under Lord Dartmouth from coming out; but the pilot during the night mistook his reckoning, and, when the morning broke, it was found that he had not only overshot Torbay, where it was proposed to land, but Dartmouth also. Plymouth was before them; but the prince was not satisfied of the reception he might there meet with, and if he tacked to make Torbay, there was ground for apprehension lest the English fleet, now under sail by change of wind, might in the interval come up to the attack. In this cruel strait of anxiety and peril, whilst Russell bade Dr. Burnet go to his prayers, for that all was lost, the wind changed in a moment to the south, carried the Dutch fleet back triumphantly into Torbay, and

A.D. 1688. forced Lord Dartmouth to his former station. The prayers and thanksgivings that were offered up on landing, by the whole fleet and army of the prince, were solemnly appropriate to the magnitude of the deliverance. To the eye of faith it had all the air of a Divine interposition; for never since the time of the Armada had such vast interests—to the present weal of England, to posterity, to the destinies of Europe, and the universal church,—been so much at the apparent mercy of the winds and floods.

Two entire months, into which were crowded a host of incidents that must have powerfully agitated and affected the hearts of the beholders, elapsed between the landing of the prince and the abdication of King James. In the final developement of this great drama, many instances of retributive providence or justice were universally remarked; but few could be more striking, or more fraught with moral meaning, than the Earl of Bedford's memorable reply, when, in passing to an assembly of the peers to apologise for not having called a parliament, and to require their counsel, the king solicited his influence. "My lord," said the royal suppliant, "you are a good man; you have interest with the peers, and can render me to-day essential service." "For myself," said the earl, with a subdued reproach, in which, however, there was more of sorrow than of anger,—“for myself, sir, I am old and weak; but I had once a *son* who could indeed have served your majesty!”

There was character in the mode in which every member of this long-tried family expressed the bosom's stirring feelings in an hour of grateful change like this. In the earl's affecting answer, the dignity of the venerable nobleman, the anguish of the injured father, and the subject's natural respect, untinged with the least alloy of haughty scorn,

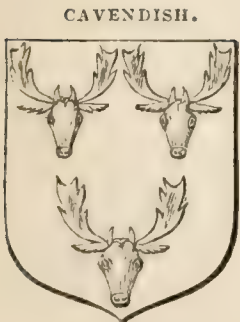
expressively shone out. The eldest daughter of Lord Russell, A.D. 1688. with all the simple fancy, happy joy, and pardonable undisguise of youth, says of the proclamation that soon followed; “I was at the sight, my dear beloved *Silvia*, and very much pleased, you may imagine, to see *Ormanzor* and *Phenixana* proclaimed King and Queen of England, in the room of King James, my father’s murderer!” Whilst Lady Russell, to whom all the pageantries of life had become a sated charm, and whose mind was principally occupied in extracting from these singular vicissitudes nutriment for the celestial nature that was forming rapidly within, poured forth the emotions of her soul in language eloquent with spiritual praise. “I have pleased myself,” she writes, “and now I will retire to such contemplations as the wondrous providence of every day furnishes to all thinking creatures. May our hearts and minds be directed to a due use of them, and ever full of praise to God, and prayers for the visible Mover that causes so mighty a revolution as we see. Those who have lived longest, and therefore seen the most change, can scarce believe that it is more than a dream; yet it is indeed real, and so amazing a reality of mercy, as ought to melt and ravish our hearts into subjection and resignation to Him who is the dispenser of all providences!”

King William, on mounting the throne to which he was invited, amply redeemed the promises which he had made to the Russell family when Prince of Orange. One of the first acts of his government was to reverse the attainder of Lord Russell. A vote of the House of Commons stigmatised his execution as a murder; and a formal examination, to detect the advisers and promoters of it, as well as that of all the others who had suffered from the Rye-house Plot, was, with much minuteness, entered into. It was in the course

A.D. 1688. of this inquiry, that Lord Hampden stated to the House of Lords, that the association which introduced the Prince of Orange into England, was nothing else, in his regard, but a CONTINUATION OF THE COUNCIL OF SIX.¹ The greatest possible favour was at the same time shewn by the queen to Lady Russell; and every request which she chose to prefer for the credit or advantage of her friends, which, however, bore proportion rather to her modesty than merit, was honoured with a prompt compliance. And upon the venerable Earl of Bedford, in the April of 1694, the highest title which the king could confer upon a subject was bestowed, with accompaniments of delicate and graceful compliment that infinitely enhanced the value of the gift.²



The earl's gratification was not limited to his own advance in rank. A similar mark of distinction was at the same time conferred upon the Earl of Devonshire, the bosom friend of his incomparable son, yet endeared to him less, perhaps, by that electric link, than by the untameable pride of independence, which won for him the following tribute from the great Lord Somers: That he was one who, in an age corrupted and sinking into the basest flattery, had constantly retained the manners of the ancients,—one who by his example and advice drew over his fellow peers into the conflict against tyranny, till, by a bloodless victory, the ancient rights and religion of the people were splendidly restored.³



To the heir of this illustrious nobleman, William, afterwards second Duke of Devonshire,⁴ Lord Bedford lived to see Rachel, his eldest grand-daughter, united, in June 1688; his second, Catharine, married into the noble family

¹ Lords' Journals, Dec. 20, 1689. ² Preamble to his Patent of Creation.

³ Preamble to his Patent of Creation.

⁴ Arms; *Sable*, 3 harts' heads caboshed *argent*, attired *or*.

of Manners;¹ his grandson little less advantageously con- A.D. 1700.
 sorted; his own numerous offspring all settled in conditions suitable to their birth, beloved and honoured for their merits and his own; and the public principles, for which he had paid a price so inestimable, triumphantly established. He had little more to live for. It was his daily petition, that, next to the pardon of his transgressions, the God in whom he had so faithfully trusted would grant him an easy passage to the tomb;² and the prayer was graciously accepted. “Never did any person leave the world with greater inward peace, or a more resigned mind, with less struggle and discomposure, or with more assured hopes of a joyful resurrection. His lamp of life was not blown out; the oil wasted by degrees, until the flame decayed. Nature was quite tired and spent, and he fell asleep,”³ on the 7th of September, 1700, in his 87th year. He was interred at Chenies, where a handsome monument of white marble is erected to the memory of himself and countess, surrounded with medallions of their numerous issue. The king directed Dr. Freeman, one of his own chaplains, to preach his funeral sermon, which was subsequently printed, and inscribed to his successor in the dukedom. The divine who preached it was one who had intimately known him; and he devotes a few pages of his performance to portray his character, which may not inappositely conclude the present memoir.



“The nobleness of his extraction and the greatness of his descent are little things, not to be named with the admirable

¹ To John, Lord Roos, afterwards second Duke of Rutland.⁴ The marriage took place August 17, 1693; and an amusing account of the festivities that followed, is to be found in a letter from Sir James Forbes to Lady Russell, which may be seen in her published Letters.

^{2 3} Funeral Sermon.

⁴ Arms; as in page 455, vol. i. of this work.

A.D. 1700. endowments of his mind, and the manifold gifts of the Holy Spirit wherewith his soul was adorned.

“ Who can sufficiently admire or fully imitate the sweetness of his temper and the benignity of his nature? The greatness of his birth made *him* the more humble; the height of his condition did not exalt his mind; there was nothing of pride or fastidiousness in his conversation; it was all condescension, without being mean and cheap. His piety towards God was sincere and unaffected; his devotion in the closet daily; in public constant, uniform, and regular. His was the family wherein not an oath nor a profane jest could be heard; where sobriety was habitual, virtue and religion triumphant, and the worship of God daily and devoutly performed. His beneficence and his alms were of the same piece with his piety. He was never backward to forgive; always ready to distribute; his charity, like that of God’s, was universal, not confined to sects and parties, but flowing abundantly towards all men, yet discreetly placed and proportioned. Nothing but sin had his frown; the good actions of men had his praise, their weaknesses his excuse, their afflictions his pity, and his succour their distresses.”

Three portraits of him exist at Woburn Abbey; the first, in his youth, attended by his dwarf domestic, painted by Priwitzer, the Hungarian; the second, in the bloom of manhood, by Vandyck, accompanied by his brother-in-law, Lord Digby; and the third, in his maturer years, by Kneller, with his robes of the garter. Of Anne, Countess of Bedford, there are also two fine portraits in the same collection, both by Vandyck; one of which has been engraved, anciently by Lombard, and of later years for the work of Mr. Lodge. Of William, Lord Russell, three portraits exist at Woburn. The first, by Claude Lefevre, has been already noticed; the

second is by Kneller, in the maturity of middle age; and A.D. 1700. the third, by Sir Peter Lely, from which the portrait in the "Illustrious Personages" is engraved, represents him in a sitting attitude. Fortunately for the interests of liberty and truth, the real conduct and principles of Lord Russell, in stemming the corruption and profligacy of the court and government of Charles the Second, are too correctly and generally appreciated to render it at all necessary for his biographers to notice the perverse animadversions of his enemies. His memory and reputation will continue to find a shrine in the heart of every lover of civil and religious freedom, who is enfranchised from the slavish dogmas that so long held the national will and energies in check. He has

" sunk to rest,
By all his country's wishes blest!
There Honour comes, a pilgrim gray,
To bless the turf that wraps his clay;
And Freedom shall awhile repair,
To dwell, a weeping hermit, there!"

CHAPTER XXI.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF QUEEN ANNE TO THE REIGN OF
GEORGE THE SECOND.

A.D. 1702-1732.

Early years of Wriothlesley, second Duke of Bedford . . . he is invited to stand for Middlesex . . . enters the University of Oxford . . . makes the tour of Italy . . . Canzone in his praise . . . Visit of a relative . . . Admiral Russell . . . Discontent of the Whig leaders . . . Intrigues of James II. . . . he endeavours to gain the Navy officers . . . Mission of Mr. Lloyd . . . Declaration of indulgence . . . Exposition of Russell's real conduct . . . Battle of La Hogue . . . reward for his services . . . Lloyd's second mission to him . . . he cajoles the court of St. Germain into a new declaration . . . its fatal result . . . his fresh "faint assurances" of assistance . . . conclusion of the Stuart annalist upon his conduct . . . Fenwick's plot . . . created Earl of Orford . . . his impeachment . . . his acquittal . . . death . . . and character . . . Pursuits—parliamentary conduct—and last illness of the Duke of Bedford . . . Wriothlesley, third duke . . . his occupations—and decline . . . Death of Lady Russell . . . Sketch of her character.

By the death of William, Duke of Bedford, his grandson Wriothlesley, the only son of the excellent Lord Russell, succeeded to the title. Born November 1, 1680, he had been too young at his father's death to be sensible of his irreparable loss. From the affection which Dr. Burnet bore to the memory of that admirable nobleman, he had generously offered to superintend the education of his orphan, an honour of which, he declared to Lady Russell, he should be more ambitious than of the best bishopric in England. But the merited preferments which that prelate received after the Revolution removing him into a busier sphere of usefulness, the studies of Lord Russell were directed by Mr. Hicks, a gentleman of considerable attainments, and of the highest private worth. In 1693, his mother received overtures from

Sir Josiah Child, for uniting him in marriage with his grand- A.D. 1695.
child, Lady Henrietta Somerset, an honour which she respectfully declined, probably from having already listened to proposals of a similar nature from Mrs. Howland, of Streatham, a daughter of the same personage, with reference to her only child Elizabeth.

Lord Russell was at that time scarce fifteen, and his destined bride was probably still younger; but this immaturity of years was no barrier in those times to the marriage of any of the young nobility, in whose persons were concentrated the hopes of numerous connexions. From the first whisper of the nuptial project to the irrevocable vow before the altar, the whole affair was generally managed by the parents: in the present instance, the consciousness of her own advancing years, and the desirableness of seeing her son appropriately settled in life before her pilgrimage was ended, had its weight with Lady Russell in inducing her not to defer the completion of the match. The king entered with interest into her views and feelings; and in compliment to the large succession to which Miss Howland¹ was entitled, created Lord Russell Baron Howland, of Streatham, immediately after the marriage, which was celebrated on the 23d of May, 1695, in a chapel of the family mansion at Streatham, the ceremony being performed by Bishop Burnet.

HOWLAND.



The marriage of Lord Russell had not taken place many months, — he was still under a private tutor, preparing to be sent to Oxford, — when proposals were made by the Duke of Shrewsbury and the great Lord Somers to bring him into parliament for Middlesex, by dispensing for a day with his newly acquired title (by courtesy) of Marquess of Tavistock, and setting him up under the name of Lord Russell, the magic of

¹ Arms; *Argent*, 2 bars *sable*, in chief 3 lions rampant of the *second*.

A.D. 1698. which sound would without doubt have rallied to his banner a vast majority of the electors. But a concurrence with their project would have interfered with all Lady Russell's plans for his improvement—to the flattering importunity with which the solicitation was enforced, she in consequence wisely closed her ears; and a more suitable candidate was found in Admiral Russell, distinguished as he was with the recent laurels of his victory off La Hogue.

In January, 1696, Lord Tavistock entered the University of Oxford, where he prosecuted his studies with success, and acquired a decided taste for classical literature; it being under his auspices that West and Welstead brought out, at this time, their splendid edition of Pindar, as we learn from their elegant dedication to him of the result of their labours. At the age of seventeen, accompanied by Mr. Hicks and Mr. Sherard, he went upon his travels; and being furnished by the younger Rouvigny with letters to the principal diplomatic and military characters in the different courts of Europe, he was every where received with marked attentions. After being presented at the Hague to King William, who had just signed the treaty of the peace of Ryswick, and visiting Berlin and some of the smaller German courts, he, in 1698, arrived at Rome, where he passed the winter in a round of festivities and entertainments, reciprocated with the foreign ministers and chief resident nobility.¹ Munificently furnished

¹ Chance has thrown into our hands one of the Italian compositions with which he was complimented at one of their musical festivities. The canzone, though not without blemishes, is deserving of a version, from the family references which it contains, and the favourable sentiments which the marquess's disposition had obviously inspired in the leaders of Italian society.

IL TAMIGI GIULIVO.

The *Scene* was an extensive and picturesque landscape, with the imperial hall of Romulus in the foreground; the prelude—a conversation of the Muses on the promise of the young nobleman who was visiting those classic shores.

by his mother with pecuniary supplies, and charmed with the A.D. 1698.
 novelties of such a life, he launched out into expenses which
 involved him in some difficulties; and these were farther
 increased by some losses which he had sustained at play,—
 an amusement he had imbibed for the moment during his

This being terminated, the curtain rose, and discovered Fame upon the wing,
 applying with one hand her trumpet to her lips, and sustaining with the
 other the portrait of “his Excellency;” whilst Thames, as a River God, in
 act to speak, reclined upon the margin of a stream beneath. A symphony of
 sweet and solemn instruments introduced the concert; and the song, as
 though delivered by the Genius of his native stream, proceeded:—

CANZONE.

Amidst those plants sublime
 Of an illustrious and heroic stem,
 Which, with their flower-buds charming all the clime,
 Form for my regal brows a diadem,—
 This graceful scion, that so freshly towers
 From the great Russell stock, whose worth is known
 To the wide nations, has delightful flowers,
 Sweet fruits, and boughs luxuriant of its own.

CHORUS.

It has lovely flowers; her fashion,
 Beauty's self to him bequeaths;
 And from out his heart of passion,
 All the soul of Honour breathes.

It has lovely flowers, &c. 1

It has sweet fruits; for while
 Young April's frolic winds the branches sway,
 The sun has touched it with indulgent smile,
 And to a summer ripeness turned the spray.
 Hence studious thoughts; hence, underneath the shine
 Of sunny tresses, the mature desire
 For graver cares, and sympathies that pine
 For high distinction, set his soul on fire;
 To temper which, he bids Harmonia swell
 Amphion's lute, and strike her chorded shell.

CHORUS.

It has boughs; which, without measure,
 The kind heavens with verdure crown;
 And upon its head his treasure
 Jove in golden clouds showers down.

It has boughs, &c.

A.D. 1698. range through the Italian cities. It was fortunate for him that he early felt the disgrace which would inevitably attach to an indulgence in this, the subtlest and most pernicious of the various passions that lie in wait to seduce the indolent,—involving so frequently within its vortex the peace

Nor marvel—to its pride
 That thus its gifts each happy Influence brings,—
 The tree a thousand winters has defied,
 And bloomed unwithered through a thousand springs.
 I saw its verdurous forehead mate the skies,
 Ere the first William ploughed my azure breast,
 And on my banks from Normandy arise
 Fresh shoots, with other flowers, boughs, fruitage drest,—
 Numerous as grain on Autumn's threshing-floor,
 Stars in the heavens, or sands on the smooth shore.

CHORUS.

Midst these flowers what nectared sweetness,
 Midst these boughs what fruit divine,
 Charm, in WILLIAM'S sage discreteness,
 In brave EDWARD'S prowess shine!
 Midst these flowers, &c.

That One, my Capital,
 As with another mart, has amplified,
 Where now, in ornamental pomp o'er all,
 Spires, and gay domes, and villas, are descried:
 This One, my antique trident when he swayed,
 Late raised my name in glory to the stars,
 And, borne to battle o'er the floods, displayed
 Innate the valour of the Roman Mars.
 Yet 'tis their generous aim, not less avowed,
 To shield the weak, as to abase the proud.

CHORUS.

For beneath their spread pavilion,
 If a whirlwind sweep the land,
 Threatening wreck to many a million,
 Safe the cherished people stand.
 For beneath, &c.

Nor meaner be the praise
 Of that thrice revered name—that MATRON shrined
 In the world's sympathies, whose love could raise,
 In the chill spite of each ungentle wind,

and prosperity of families, prostrating before the wretched A.D. 1700.
 lust of gain, the body, soul, and spirit of its unhappy victim,
 and bringing him into hideous familiarity with the least erect
 and basest spirits that can hang upon society. His letters to
 his mother at this period breathe the most ingenuous grief
 for his indiscretion, which, with her usual prudence, she was
 careful not to extinguish by angry severity. Her friends
 joined with her in the necessary means for obviating any pre-
 sent inconvenience; and when, at the close of 1699, Lady
 Russell welcomed her son home to England, she had the
 satisfaction of finding all his virtuous sentiments confirmed;
 her expectation of his personal improvement happily fulfilled;
 and of seeing, in his union with one whose domestic virtues
 fully justified her choice, the pledge of happiness to himself,
 and pride and comfort to her own declining years. The
 storms of sorrow that had so long and frequently occurred
 to nip her springing joys, appear now to have cleared off,
 and to have allowed her, for upwards of twelve years, an
 undisturbed interval of serenity and pleasure.

The first study of Wriothesley, Duke of Bedford, when he



A shoot so flourishing : in sure respect

That it has sprung from so renowned a root,
 And by so sweet a guardian has been decked

With lavish boughs, fair flowers, and rosy fruit,
 Still must its doom be, with fresh greens to spread,
 Peace in its heart and sunshine on its head !

CHORUS.

Never may injurious Malice,
 Frowning Fate, self-cankering Grief,
 Or the dews from Envy's chalice,
 Chill its flower, or blight its leaf.
 But with age fresh beauty blending,
 Livelier greens its trunk display,
 And aloft to Heaven ascending,
 Blossom in perpetual May !

A.D. 1708. came to his inheritance in 1700, was to repair the losses which his indiscretion had incurred ; and this, by a system of wise economy, he in a few years accomplished. The following letter describes a visit which Admiral Russell, now created Earl of Orford, paid to him in 1708.

TO LADY RUSSELL.

Chippenham, Sept. 2, 1708.

Madam,—If I thought the account I am going to give your ladyship, of Woburn and the master of it would be disagreeable to you, I should ease you of the trouble of this letter. I am newly come from thence, where I stayed a week ; and, upon my word, I never was better pleased than to see the Duke and Duchess of Bedford both so extremely easy in their house, and living with the greatest order and decorum that it is possible to describe. Your son busies himself with improving his park and grounds, and has got the reputation of a great husbandman. I have told him, the fear I am under is, his growing too careful ; which is, I think, a fault, for a man of his quality and estate, only next to running into a greater debt than one can pay. I endeavoured to persuade him to be some years longer in paying off his debt, and to allow himself more, that he may complete his house for his dwelling, to his own mind ; but I find his thoughts and heart are fully set to put himself beforehand in the world, which cannot be accounted an act of indiscretion. I have not also for many years had a truer satisfaction than observing, the time I was there, the Duchess of Bedford's behaviour in all respects ; inasmuch as I have a concern for the well-being of the family, and a zeal not common for the son of a man I passionately loved, and a mother for whom I have, without a compliment, the greatest honour and respect imaginable. And I now have great pleasure in thinking I shall have good reason to value this present Duke of Bedford, not only as I have the honour to be related to him, but for his own virtues and honourable principles. He has a very good understanding ; and his late proceedings shew him to have a true sense of honour and integrity ; from all which it is very easy to believe he will act as a man of his quality ought, and as that family has always done since they have been termed noble. I write this with greater pleasure than I can

well express. God has blessed him with fine children; and he A.D. 1703.
shews himself a fond husband and a kind father.

And now, madam, I must not conclude without telling you my complaints. Picquet was the evening's diversion, in which I, poor man, was a terrible sufferer; a pound a night hardly covered my losses, and not one pool in all that time came to my share. You may judge, madam, what trouble and concern I lay under at my ill-fortune, or rather ill-play. I would fain have prevailed with him to have come to Chippenham this Newmarket meeting; but he will not stir this year. Yet he allows me to hope that I shall see him here, if we live so long as the next summer; and then I shall have a proposal to make, which I hope will not be denied me, because it will be the greatest pleasure and satisfaction I can ever propose to myself for the few years that I have, in the course of nature, to pass, insignificant as I am. It is, that I may have the honour of your ladyship's company, with all your sons and daughters at this poor place: I shall be very happy to see you all together under my roof. I will undertake to contrive the journey to be easy for you, without the trouble of a long day's travel, and without having the uneasiness of lying at an inn by the way; and the greatest compliment and demonstration I can shew for such an honour, is, instead of allowing one pound a-day for cards, I will come up to one and a half. And now, madam, I have troubled you with a very long letter, I have nothing more than to offer you ten thousand pardons for taking up so much of your time; and to conclude, with what I shall for ever be, with the greatest truth and respect, Madam, your ladyship's most faithful and obedient humble servant,

ORFORD.¹

Of the political part which Russell had taken since our last notice of him, a few particulars are called for, by the importance which some writers, following in the wake of Dalrymple, but with even less candour of construction, have given to the reports of his connection with the dethroned monarch. On the accession of William, he was made a rear-admiral, and sent to reinforce the fleet under Herbert, Earl of Tor-

¹ Devonshire Papers.

A.D. 1690. rington. On the occasion of the king's absence in Ireland in 1690, he received the queen's commands frequently to attend her, lest she should be too much biassed in marine affairs, by one or other party in the council, where many private jealousies prevailed.¹ The southern coasts being then imminently threatened by the French squadron under De Tourville, he gave it as his opinion in council, that as the English fleet had now been reinforced from Holland, Lord Torrington should abandon his defensive operations, and hazard an engagement. The result ill corresponded with the hopes of the nation, and Torrington fell into disgrace. When Russell was desired to form one of the commissioners whom it was thought proper to depute, to examine into the circumstances of his failure, he replied, that it would be indelicate in him to be so forward in that particular, as he had long served under the earl;² and the Earls of Devonshire and Pembroke were accordingly appointed to this service. The earl being deprived of his command, the fleet was put under three commissioners, with Russell at the head, who, however, received the charge with an extreme reluctance,³ which discredits the gratuitous assumptions of those⁴ who charge the king's hard treatment of Torrington upon Russell's influence, exercised from an eager desire to succeed in the command. It was, notwithstanding, the king's pleasure to promote Admiral Russell to the vacant honour;⁵ and accordingly, hoisting his flag on board the *Britannia*, May 4, 1691, he set sail for the westward, met with and convoyed the Smyrna fleet from Kinsale to the Scilly Isles, and thence proceeded in search of the French fleet, which was at that time stationed off Ushant. But De Tourville had received orders to avoid all chances of a battle; and keeping

¹ Queen Mary to King William; Dal. ii. App. Part II. p. 122.

² Same to the same. Ib. p. 127. ³ Same to the same. Ib. p. 144-173; and Lord Shrewsbury to the same, July 12, 1690. Ib. p. 173.

⁴ Locker: Greenwich Gallery of Portraits.

⁵ Dec. 3, 1690.

scouts at a considerable distance on all points of the compass, A.D. 1691. to pass the signal for flight as soon as they were chased,¹ he eluded the admiral's vigilance, and succeeded in slipping safely into Brest. When parliament met in October, the admiral's naval management was called in question, with the apparent view of revenging upon him the harsh treatment which Torrington had met with from the government;² but producing all his instructions, and entering into a full explanation of his various movements in pursuance of them, he completely exonerated himself from every ground of censure.

The winter was spent by the court of St. Germain, in active preparations for a descent upon England. Every thing flattered the wishes, and gave encouragement to the hopes of James,—the apparent instability of the new government, which the war in Ireland and successive internal conspiracies had kept unsettled—the injury to public credit—the subsiding popularity of William—the people's jealousies—the Commons' discontents—the new state of parties arising from the king's dismissal of his Whig ministers—the domestic discords, assiduously fomented between the queen and Princess Anne,—and, finally, the intrigues which James had sought to carry on with his partisans in the three kingdoms. But it was upon the last of these circumstances that he principally relied. He had sounded by his emissaries the sentiments of some of the great Whig ministers, as well as others. Halifax and Danby, discontented with their situations, early lent an ear to these advances, and insinuated to their friends, that wise men should not venture too far; as, if James would only quit his priests, his affairs might yet be well retrieved.³ Godolphin, renewing his connexions with the old court, requested leave to resign his employments, upon the

¹ Ralph's History, vol. ii. p. 312-3. ² *Ib.* p. 312-3. ³ Reresby.

A.D. 1691. plea now of receiving orders distasteful to his own opinions, now of languor and ill health. Shrewsbury made, or is thought to have made, offers of his services, which, however vague, attested some diminution of attachment to the reigning king; and Marlborough, in a letter written on the 10th of January, 1691, had condescended to solicit of James forgiveness for his defection, and to assure him of the duchess's power and willingness to bring back the Princess Anne, in whose train it was expected that the great body of the churchmen would be found to tread. So far James might seem to have some foundation for his hopes of assistance from the disaffected Whigs: they had appeared to listen to his overtures; and Marlborough had sent him occasional advices of importance; although it would not be right to charge him with all that his opponents have adduced, as there is proof that forged letters were intercepted to the court of St. Germain's in his name.¹ But James did not sufficiently consider upon how slight a basis the whole of this infirmity might rest; that their assurances might spring less from their attachment to him, than from a cautious calculation of future possibilities, or temporary disgust at the treatment of his rival. Of the Whig partisans on whose succour he relied, some had been in degree alienated from William by neglect, and all had been deeply offended by what appeared his versatile abandonment of the party which had called him to the throne, for those who had always advocated the most slavish maxims of government. They thus grew for the moment fretful and peevish as a nurse over her capricious infant; like that same gossip in the fable, they threatened to throw their darling to the wolf; and, to complete the parallel, James credulously waited, like the wolf without the door, in actual expectation of the fulfil-

¹ Dalrymple, vol. ii. Appendix, Part II. p. 174.

ment of the menace. Thus much may perhaps be admitted; A.D. 1691. but if we carry farther our speculations, from the *ex parte* statements of the “Stuart Papers,” drawn up from James’s own memorials, and conveying his partial impressions of reports brought by emissaries interested in flattering all his prepossessions, we shall be in danger of being abused, as he frequently suspected was the case with himself, and be beguiled, like others, in a maze of curious contradictions.

Amongst the papers found upon Lord Preston, on the discovery of his plot and the seizure of his person, in December, 1690-1, were some of his memorandums of the strength of the English fleet, and the names of its commanders; prefixed to which was this observation, “that Carter, and others at Portsmouth, were the likeliest men to come to King James;”¹ a hint designed for future use, which evinces, that at that time no attempt had been made on the fidelity of the navy. Now, however, a Mr. Lloyd was deputed to this service—a person who is stated to have been well known to Admiral Russell; and one of his first essays was exercised on Rear-admiral Carter. Carter resisted the seduction: he informed the queen that he had been tampered with; and, that the schemes of the Jacobites might be drawn fully out and disappointed, it is the general opinion of historians,² that the queen gave him permission to counterfeit an acquaintance with their projects. “Perhaps some may think,” says Dalrymple, “and I have heard it said, that Lord Godolphin, Lord Marlborough, and Russell, had the same permission.” Nothing is more probable, as concerns Admiral Russell, so vast was the incongruity between the promises with which he long amused the ear of James, and his slack performances, not to say—his hostile opposition. James, meanwhile, as a pre-

¹ Ralph, vol. ii. p. 257.

² Dalrymple, vol. i. p. 501.

A.D. 1691. paratory step to the impending invasion, issued his Declaration of tolerance and indulgence. When Admiral Russell was conferred with by Lloyd, he, whose passion for liberty made James at times conclude that he was more of a republican than a friend to monarchy, answered by the complaint, that James had made a very insufficient provision for the security of the freedom of the subject; and it was to satisfy the admiral upon this point, that another, more ample and explicit, was afterwards prepared. It is in the following terms that the “Stuart Papers” speak of the transaction.

“The Declaration’s not being published in time, made several dissatisfied with it; but no one seemed to be more so than *Admiral Russell*,¹ who now having the command of the English fleet, and still pretending to be in the king’s interest, there appeared a necessity of doing all that was possible to content a person who held the crown of England so far in his hands, as that it was in his power to set it again on his majesty’s head, if he really designed it.

“Mr. Lloyd was his particular friend, with whom he had several conferences, before he came away. He expressed an earnest desire to serve the king,—said, the people were inclined enough to be of his side again, if his majesty took a right way to make them so; but that if he would reign a Catholic king over a Protestant people, he must forget all past misdemeanours, and grant a general pardon; and that then he would contribute what he could to his restoration, without insisting upon any terms for himself; and when Mr. Lloyd made some proposals of that kind, he would not hear him, saying, ‘It was the public good, not private advantage, he looked for in this affair.’ He told him, therefore, ‘If he met the French fleet he would fight it, even though the king

¹ “Inserted afterwards, and by a different hand.”—EDITOR.

himself were on board ; but that the method he proposed to A.D. 1691. serve the king, was, by going out of the way with the English fleet, to give the king an opportunity of landing, or else by making choice of ships for a winter squadron, whose officers he could influence, and by that means do what he pleased.

“ This resolution,” the narrative proceeds, “ of fighting even against the king himself, was an odd method of restoring him !” “ The king,” it adds, “ was forced to seem well contented ; he had good hopes of many officers, particularly Carter, rear-admiral of the Blue, but endeavoured to have matters so ordered as not to depend upon so dubious a foundation, especially the faint assurances of Admiral Russell himself ; for he knew that fear alone would make those mercenary souls his friends, and that nothing but the preparations where he was could produce that effect.”¹

Thus we find the admiral depicted as treacherous enough to betray the interests of King William, who had recently raised him to the highest rank in his profession, and so *faithful* to “ King” James as to “ be resolved to fire upon him,” if he should encounter him in battle ; so disinterested, as to refuse even to listen to the proposal of any personal advantage, in the event of a change ; yet so “ mercenary,” as to be attached only by fear ; so much of a malcontent, as strenuously to labour for an exile who had proved the tyrant of his country, and the murderer of “ a man whom he had ever passionately loved ;” and yet so good a patriot, as to stipulate for the best possible guarantees to the people’s liberties. Such are the inconsistencies involved in this representation. As the only means of reconciling them with his cherished wishes, James is driven to the surmise that the whole of Russell’s conduct “ seemed rather a contrivance to raise his

¹ Stuart Papers, vol. ii. pp. 489-91.

A.D. 1691. fortune, which way soever the balance might incline,"—a deduction, however, as little warranted by subsequent events, as irreconcilable with his repudiation of the very mention of reward for his pretended services.

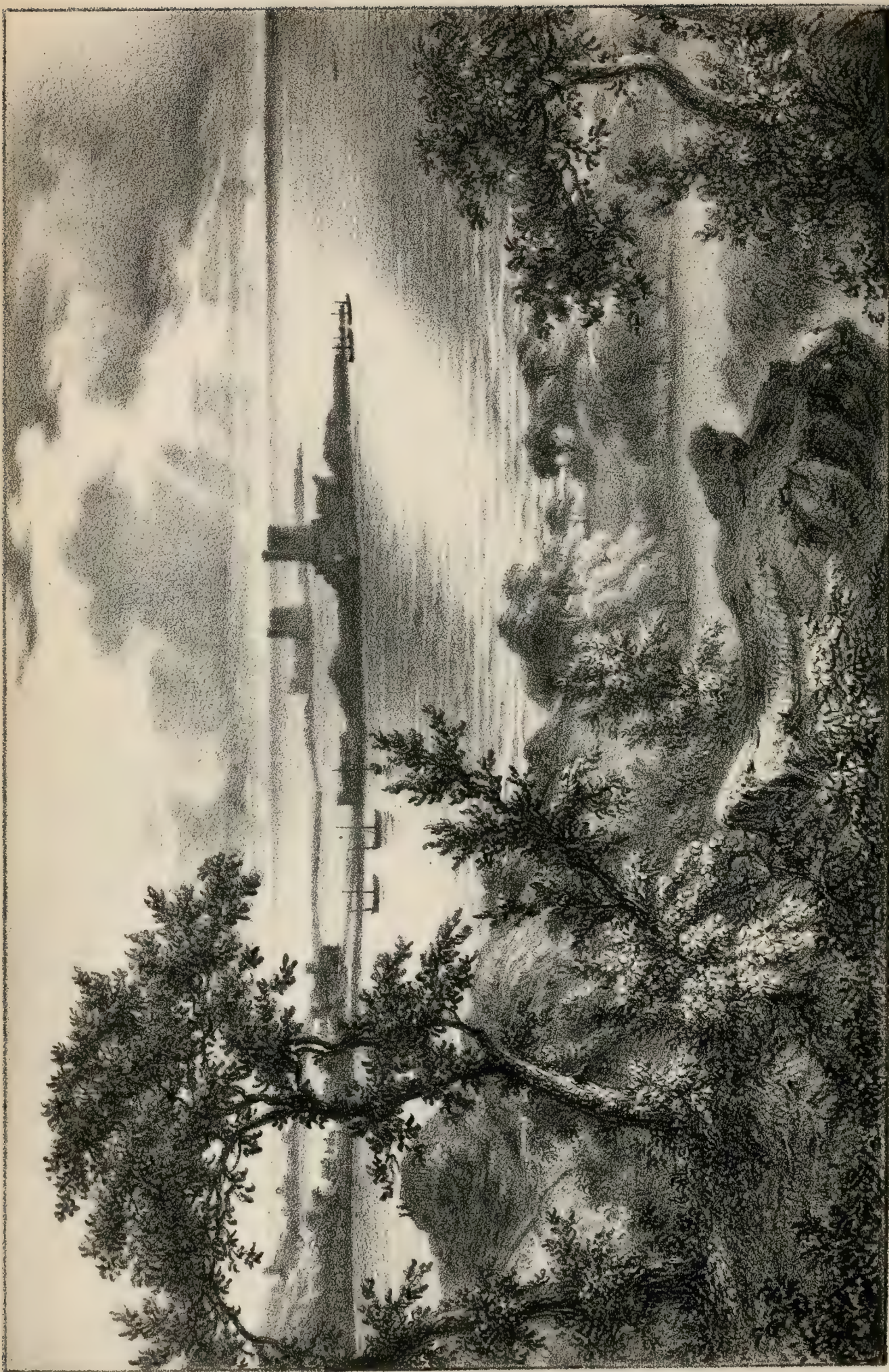
"But," says Dalrymple, "in testimony of his sincerity in the proposal" he had made to James of going out of the way with the English fleet, "he applied in England for leave to make a descent at St. Malo's."¹ His "faint assurances," as James justly terms them, undoubtedly required the aid of such a proposal to give the admiral any credit with the man upon whom he had resolved "to fire." The feint answered its purpose; and, with the well-contrived absence of Russell's signature to the address of fidelity signed by all the other officers of the fleet,² furnished him with sufficient reputation at the court of St. Germain's to enable him to continue for some years longer the delusion he had practised on it.

So much for "*the leather and prunella*." The real dispositions of Admiral Russell are clearly evinced in the emergency that immediately followed the subscription of this address of the fleet. He had his own causes of complaint against King William, for his neglect of some of his relatives who had made considerable sacrifices to the new order of things, and for whom he had been a fruitless suitor; these he stated, not to the king's enemies, but frankly to the king himself, in a letter written to him on the 10th of May, a few days before he left the channel, in anticipation that "the accidents of war might possibly put it out of his power of having the honour to see his majesty again."³ Having "troubled him with his afflictions," he stated, "that he should be at ease; and assured him, that whatever might be

¹ Dal. vol. i. p. 498.

² May 15th, 1692.

³ Admiral Russell to the King. Dal. App. pp. 277-9.



the monarch's pleasure, or the condition of himself or family, A.D. 1692.
the king should ever find him, with all faith and duty, his
obedient subject."¹

Nine days after came the battle of La Hogue. Admiral Russell's bearing in it was in every respect conformable with the heroism of a patriot, and the honour of a British officer. The hostile navies and commanders met. In the fate of the English fleet was involved that of the whole English nation. Russell felt it, and flung out the bloody flag. The two admirals singled out each other in the conflict; and Fortune, as though to disprove every after calumny against the fidelity of Russell, destined that the fiercest fury of the fight should be concentrated around his deck. Into the particulars of this celebrated action it is unnecessary to enter. The struggle for mastery between the two admirals' ships lasted an hour and a half, when that of Tourville was towed off in tattered disarray. As soon as the thick fog which succeeded had cleared off, Russell made a signal to chase the enemy from all quarters. The pursuit was continued the next day, till he had driven aground the relics of the hostile fleet. His fireships being unable to come within their reach, he sent out his shallops, which, in spite of the batteries on the shore, succeeded in burning all the men-of-war that had run upon the shoals.

Seventeen of the French vessels destroyed, his country saved, and the ancient honours of its navy amply vindicated, were some of the fruits of this memorable victory. The writer has stood beside the little Norman church of Querqueville,² on the self-same spot which James selected to view the issue of the battle; and, as he looked over the green waters

¹ Admiral Russell to the King. Dal. App. pp. 277-9.

² See the Vignette at the end of the chapter.

A.D. 1692. that dashed around the isles of Marcou, near which the destiny of the three kingdoms was determined, felt all the exultation of an Englishman at the deathblow which was then dealt to the conjoined energies of bigotry, tyranny, and superstition. James himself, though so fatally interested in that day's decision, could not suppress his admiration when he saw how boldly the English seamen climbed from their little shallops the high sides of the French vessels. "*Voilà!*" he exclaimed, with a tone which created at once offence and respect in the minds of those whom he addressed,—"*Voilà mes Anglois, comme ils se battent bien!*" But it was with slow steps, and all that melancholy of mien for which his family was distinguished, that he retired from that rustic churchyard to bury in the convent of La Trappe the memory of his vanished greatness. "All his attempts, and those of his family afterwards, to recover the throne of their ancestors, were either disappointed by the insincerity of French friendship, or were the mere efforts of despair."¹

Notwithstanding, however, the merit and renown which Russell thus acquired, he did not escape the rancour of the times,² it being fancied that if the blow had been followed up with greater vigour, the advantages might have been carried farther; but this idea, upon very reasonable grounds, is shewn by Ralph³ to be erroneous; and the admiral is known to have been greatly chagrined by the confused, and the controlling orders which he received after the battle. King William was so satisfied with his whole conduct in the affair, that he sent him a present of 10,000*l*. Gratitude for such a mark of favour, even supposing, for the sake of argument, that his attachment had been somewhat warped, must have effectually reconciled a man so "mercenary" as James is pleased to

¹ Dalrymple, vol. i. p. 509.

^{2 3} Ralph, vol. ii. p. 358.

represent him. He had succeeded to the height of his ambition in that "raising of his fortune" which was considered as his impelling motive in listening to that prince's overtures; and he had proved that his former spirited threat was no unmeaning menace. What, therefore, but the blindest credulity could have induced the unhappy prince again to lay his lures before him? Yet so it was. "Mr. Lloyd," say the Stuart Papers, "by the king's directions, writ to Admiral Russell,¹ to see whether after this victory at sea (though but a scurvy proof of his sincerity), he pretended (at least) to continue in the same mind: he was ordered to tell him that the king was contented to grant a general pardon; that in case it appeared by his answer he persevered in the same professions of duty to the king, and desire of his return, he should be commissioned to assure all his friends that the king would in a new Declaration do it effectually. He put him in mind of his having said, It would be no worse for the king that the French should be beaten; and that being so, he therefore had it now, he said, in his power to be another General Monk, in restoring not only the prince to his throne, but the people to plenty and a secure possession of their own." Russell flattered his hopes whilst he evaded his requisition. "He replied," says the same authority, that "he was still of the same mind; and that if any way could be shewn him to appear in the king's favour *without reproach*, he would readily embrace it; but upon condition, that such a restriction were put upon the regal power as to prevent for the future any undue practices, or the like steps as had been formerly made."² To this it was replied, that care should be taken to give him and all the kingdom full satisfaction and security; and the admiral was invited "to send his

¹ "Inserted afterwards."—EDITOR.

² Stuart Papers, vol. ii. p. 499.

A.D. 1693. thoughts of the whole, which he accordingly promised, *when a good occasion could be had of transmitting so long a letter as that would require.*"¹ Farther mysticism was rendered unnecessary on the admiral's part, by his removal in the following year from the fleet to the household, of which he was made treasurer, the command of the navy being again, through the intrigues of party, put into commission.² The Commons, however, did not permit him to retire without passing the unanimous vote, that in his conduct of the fleet, throughout the summer's service, he had behaved with conduct, courage, and fidelity.³ James, trusting in the admiral's late answer, assured him by message through a letter to the old Countess of Shrewsbury, that, upon his own part, he was ready to perform what he had promised; and soon after transmitted accordingly his new Declaration, the only fruit of which was "blame from his friends, contempt from his enemies, and repentance in himself."⁴ He wished Russell, notwithstanding, to endeavour again to obtain the conduct of the fleet; and fortune so far favoured his desires, that the admiral was again placed in a condition, if he had been so much of an ill-wisher to his country, to do the prince a service; for William, on his return from Flanders, finding that his naval affairs had prospered but indifferently in other hands, spontaneously recalled him to his former station. The farther progress of the prince's scheme, if progress that could be called wherein the expected agent was resolved to remain stationary, is thus resumed. "The king (James) saw that he had outshot himself in more ways than one in this Declaration: however, he thought it is his duty not to neglect the *least glimmering of*

¹ Stuart Papers, vol. ii. p. 500.

² Ralph, vol. ii. p. 414.

³ Ralph, vol. ii. p. 399.

⁴ Stuart Papers, vol. ii. p. 511.

hopes, and, hearing that Admiral Russell was restored to the A.D. 1694.
command of the fleet, resolved to try him once more; so sent Mr. Lloyd privately from St. Germain, about the middle of March, to see whether, now that he was in the same power, he continued in the same mind, in relation to his service; and whether he was willing to go out of the way with the English fleet, and by that means give his majesty an opportunity of landing, as he had formerly proposed. The admiral gave him several meetings, pretended to have the same good will for the king, but refused that method now, and said, ‘he was resolved to do the thing himself.’ This was so wide a promise, that Mr. Lloyd pressed him to know what method he proposed of doing it; he answered, ‘he could not tell, but vowed, clapping his hand upon his breast, he would do all he could.’ Mr. Lloyd, still dissatisfied, urged him to propose some scheme or means of bringing it about; upon which he asked Mr. Lloyd, what he would do, were he in his case, and had the command of the fleet? He answered, that the most reasonable project he could propose, was to make as many captains as he could during the summer, and towards the end of it get those ships sent out for convoy which he perceived were least inclinable to serve his purpose, reserving for the winter squadron such as were commanded by his creatures; that the fleet’s appearing on the French coast during the summer, would naturally draw troops to the sea-side, which might be designed for the expedition, though under pretence of preventing a descent, and then, as soon as the English fleet was laid up and the convoys gone, might prepare to embark, the first rumour of which would certainly occasion the winter’s squadron being sent out, and that being gained before by the admiral, he might declare for the king, and so the project could not fail. Mr. Russell could make no

A.D. 1694. objection to this ; however he would not engage to do it. All he promised was in general terms, to do all he could, which he confirmed by an oath, and that was the utmost Mr. Lloyd could bring him to.”¹

Any serious comment upon these repeated “ faint assurances ” would be a waste of words. But by engaging in this intercourse, Admiral Russell had wrought as much service to King William as the victory of La Hogue ; for, as he had probably foreseen, the new Declaration into which he had cajoled James, “ instead of reconciling the Protestants at home, alienated Catholic princes abroad ; ”² and Prince Vaudemont, a great favourite of William, not only made a dexterous use of it to deepen the ill impressions of the court of Vienna, but in his subsequent embassy to Rome to convince the Pope “ how little religion suffered in England by the king’s being out of it, or would gain by his restoration ; he having by this Declaration foreclosed himself from endeavouring the least thing in its favour.”³ “ Nay,” says the annalist of James, with great simplicity, “ even some of those very men who had solicited the king, were the first that despised him for it. My Lord Danby said, ‘ he could not see what he and others had done since the last declaration, to merit so much favour, who were so ill treated before ; ’ and in that truly he was in the right, as well as most of the rest ; nor was this all the mischief that sprung from this root ; it created misunderstandings in the king’s family at home, as well as lessened his credit abroad.”

The absolute disinclination, indeed, of Russell to take one actual step in James’s favour, is yet less equivocally evinced by the admission of the Duke of Marlborough. With Marlborough, Russell had lived in so much intimacy, that when

¹ Stuart Papers, vol. ii. pp. 517-8.

² *Ib.* p. 511.

³ *Ib.* p. 511.

the latter was removed from the fleet, it was long supposed A.D. 1694. that it was caused by the king's anger, from the admiral's pertinacious desire to know the grounds of the duke's disgrace, and his great resentment of it. Now, however, in 1694, when the expedition of General Talmash was planned against the shipping and arsenal of Brest, we find Churchill secretly writing to James: "Russell sails to-morrow with 40 ships, the rest being not yet paid; but it is said, that in ten days the rest of the fleet will follow; and at the same time the land forces. I have endeavoured to learn this some time ago from Admiral Russell; but he always denied it to me, though I am very sure that he knew the design for more than six weeks. This gives me a bad sign of this man's intentions."¹ James now seems to have been pretty well convinced of Russell's real drift in having entered into correspondence with him; for his amanuensis or annalist, speaking of the mistrust excited by this report of Churchill, very remarkably declares,—and it may form an appropriate *finale* to this explicit enumeration of all the passages in the Stuart papers that form the grounds of unfavourable implication against the admiral,—that "ADMIRAL RUSSELL, IN ALL PROBABILITY, DID BUT DELUDE THE KING BY THE PRINCE OF ORANGE'S PERMISSION!"²

¹ Stuart Papers, vol. ii. p. 523.

² With this opinion staring Mr. Locker in the face, what are we to think of his candour or sense of justice, in endeavouring to sully Lord Orford's reputation, by treating such questionable statements as though they were undisputed facts, making up by gratuitous construction and insinuation for the want of sufficient evidence to prove his point; and yet, with amusing inconsistency, proffering the affectation of this extenuating sentiment, that, "as in the moral, so in the political world, many excuses may be offered for one *whose heart still clings to the first object of his attachment*?"³

It is difficult also to conceive why Mr. Hallam, who aspires to so much

³ Edward Hawke Locker: Gallery of Greenwich Hospital, Part II.

A.D. 1696. But it is further to be noted, that on the discovery of Sir John Fenwick's plot, in 1696, for assassinating William, when that individual, thinking either to save his life, or to do mischief to those whom he thought treacherous to *his* king¹ (James), accused, amongst others, Russell and Godolphin, of having maintained a treasonable correspondence with St. Germain's,—King William, as a proof both of his confidence and favour, appointed Russell himself to lay before parliament all the papers necessary for Sir John's impeachment. The open discredit which William thereby flung upon the implication of his ministers, is pronounced by Locker, an affectation—a mere stroke of policy. But what say the Stuart Papers? “The naming of my Lord Godolphin, Admiral Russell, and several others, instead of appeasing, heightened the Prince of Orange's rage against him; for their reputation was too well established in the government to be suspected of infidelity to it; and the Prince of Orange looking never the worse upon my Lord Godolphin and Admiral Russell, was an argument he had been NO STRANGER TO THEIR PRACTICES!”² But even, for the sake of argument,

impartiality, should have done Admiral Russell the injustice of entirely overlooking these and similar important admissions. Amongst other *dicta* equally unfounded and severe, he states, that “Russell, though compelled to win the battle of La Hogue against his will, took care to render his splendid victory as little advantageous as possible!” This is a mere reflected sentiment from the faction of those times, which has been sufficiently refuted by Ralph.

¹ Stuart Papers, vol. ii. p. 557.

² Ib. p. 558. “Macpherson and Dalrymple's invidious scandals,” says Horace Walpole to Dr. Robertson, “serve but to heighten the amazing greatness of the king's (William's) genius. Nothing is so silly as to suppose that the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin ever meant seriously to restore King James. Both had offended him too much to expect forgiveness, especially from so remorseless a nature. The precise truth I take to have been this. They both knew the meanness and credulity of James's character. They knew that he must be ever dealing for partisans; and they might be sure, that if he could hope for support from the general and the lord treasurer, he must be less solicitous for more impotent supporters. Is it impossible that

allowing the disputant his point, that William did really but A.D. 1696.
affect the belief of Russell's fidelity, what shall be said of his after-conduct? It must yet be urged, that, however disposed princes may sometimes be to wink at the treasonable practices of their ministers, they are not in the habit of rewarding them for such lapses. Shortly after Fenwick's execution, Russell was raised to the peerage by the titles of Baron Russell of Shengay, Viscount Barfleur, and Earl of Orford. And what was the conduct of this "*mercenary*" man on the occasion? He manifested a modest reluctance to accept the honour. "I believe so far," says Lady Russell to Mr. Thornton,¹ "what the town says, that Admiral Russell did not seek title, or to be one of our justices; but I do not like to say, 'it was crammed down his throat.' Marks of good princes' favours should be received with some easiness, though our natures do not incline to them; and where there is merit so notorious, they cannot be rejected if well thought on." The honour was, without doubt, intended as a recompense for his services, both as a confidential tactician and as a naval champion. The amount of censure that ought to be affixed to him for the guile he practised towards James, we must leave to be settled by diplomatists and statesmen. It will not want an excuse whilst diplomacy continues what it is, nor until statesmen shall acquire that erect virtue and simplicity of faith in the power and immutability of truth which would enable them to act uniformly in the spirit of

they might correspond with the king, even by Anne's own consent? Do not be surprised, sir; such things have happened. My own father often received letters from the Pretender, which he always carried to George II., and had them indorsed by his majesty. I myself have seen them, counter-signed by the king's own hand."—*Lord Orford's Works*, vol. v. p. 652. The same remarks may be applied with equal force to Admiral Russell as to these statesmen.

¹ Bedford Papers.

A.D. 1701. the excellent adage, that “honesty is the best policy,” both in politics and ethics.

Whilst Talmash was employed in the fruitless enterprise on Brest, Russell was sent out with a fleet to the Mediterranean, in the summer of 1694, to support the court of Spain, Catalonia being invaded by the French, and threatened by the fleet of De Tourville; but with the first news that his antagonist had passed the Straits, the French admiral retired to Toulon; and Russell, wintering his fleet at Cadiz, effectually freed the Spanish trade from the injury it was daily sustaining by the Corsairs of Algiers.¹ From 1689 to 1693 he had held the office of treasurer of the navy, as well as that of president of the board of admiralty; but he retired from these employments in 1699, when the Earl of Shrewsbury resigned the secretaryship. A prevalent belief that in his mode of doing this, Russell had given great personal offence to William, may have encouraged his enemies to bring forward that impeachment which he immediately afterwards sustained, for alleged malpractices whilst in the Mediterranean. It continued suspended over him till 1701, when the Lords brought it to a trial. The Earl of Orford, within four days, put in his spirited defence, justified himself in every particular, and, although his accounts had been already passed, willingly submitted them to a fresh examination. After this had been fully entered into, “there was not,” says Burnet, “so much as a colour to fix a complaint upon him,” and he was unanimously acquitted.

Such, however, had been the outcry raised against him throughout the nation, in the rage of party heats that prevailed during the discussion of the charges, that he did not

¹ He is stated to have invited the Dey to send some of his Corsairs to look at his fleet; which being done, they went home again *very well satisfied*. The admiral's coming was so acceptable to Spain, that the king is said to have sent him a jewel valued at 80,000 crowns.—*Ralph*, vol. ii. p. 506.

resume any public employment until the eighth year of Queen Anne, when he was invited to succeed the Earl of Pembroke as lord high admiral. Being probably, however, unwilling to become again a target for the shafts of faction, he declined the station; and the office being put into commission, he was nominated first commissioner of the new board, November 8, 1709. On the memorable dismissal of his Whig friends from office in 1710, the Earl of Orford threw up his employment; but, on Queen Anne's death, in 1714, he was named one of the lords justices for the charge of public affairs; on the arrival of King George I. in England was summoned to the privy-council, and on the 13th of October following, resumed his seat at the admiralty board, which he held until his final retirement from all public affairs on the 16th of April, 1717. He survived this wise retirement ten years, until the 26th of November, 1727, when he expired, without issue, at his house in Covent Garden, in the 75th year of his age.

The principal faults alleged against Edward, Earl of Orford, and these, upon the authority of Burnet, who may be supposed to have been thoroughly acquainted with him, were, a too great share of passion, indolence, and love of pleasure. Amongst the Birch papers in the British Museum, we find the following comments on his public character, by an anonymous contemporary.¹

“ His affection for the service of his country, and his zeal to annoy its enemies, were remarkable. When he was in employment, the merchants were easy and secure; but when his rivals succeeded, great was their terror and distress. This was doing great and due honour to his merit, and such an opinion was truly valuable. Faction and folly had not then corrupted this valuable part of the nation, and caused it to deviate into popular clamour and absurdities.

¹ Birch MSS. No. 4223, Art. 112.

A.D. 1709. “ His employments had not allowed him leisure for study ; but he discovered a fund of good sense and judgment on all proper occasions. He never treated his prince with the arts of flattery—no, not by silence and submission, when wrong measures were pursued. For when the king, by (party) management had been prevailed on to dismiss his friends, and to favour and trust his enemies, and softened the thing to this lord by declaring he would turn out no more, the reply was, ‘ Your majesty has none remaining in your service.’

“ His impeachment was as great a dishonour to public justice and truth, as any of the instances of popular madness and iniquity in Athens or Rome. The only victory we ever (in these times) gained over the French at sea, was under his conduct. He immediately endured private censures and reproaches in the one House for not making it so complete and improving it as he might have done ; some years after, this was made an article of accusation in the other House. From the complexion of his accusers, we may conclude his real fault with them was his having done too much. I enter not into many imaginary circumstances, which have been supposed by those who were ignorant of the true and real.

“ Such ingratitude to God and man has had its reward : in above fifty-three years which have since passed, all our sea-combats with France have been mean and inglorious. We have wanted powder or ball, hearts or heads, or both. All has ended in their escaping from us, or we from them.¹ His prudence and care in victualling the ships in the Mediterranean deserved returns very different from groundless clamours and accusations. Great savings and advantages were procured to the nation by his management. Bravery and success, frugality and diligence, were transformed into crimes by those who had infatuated the nation, and perverted

¹ “ Aug. 27, 1745. May better events happen before the publication !”

all the dictates of truth and reason. After age and infirmities had obliged him to decline public employments, great regard was paid to his judgment. He attained to a good old age, after a life spent with great honour and usefulness, proving an ornament to that opulent and noble family which since the Reformation had produced so many affectionate and consistent friends of civil and religious liberty.” A.D. 1709.

Of Wriothesley, Duke of Bedford, but few more particulars remain to be communicated. To floriculture, as well as landscape-gardening and agriculture, he appears to have been much devoted; in one of his letters to Sir Hans Sloane, in 1709, he seeks to tempt that philosophic virtuoso and amiable man to Woburn, by stating that he was about receiving “a great number of rarities, and particularly a large collection of ranunculi from Candia, such a one as he believes was never before seen in England.” In these pursuits, which Lord Bacon terms “the purest of human pleasures,” and in collecting and perusing the rare and valuable books which he was constantly adding to his library, his tranquil years passed on. Yet, although passionately fond of his retirement in the country, he was not inattentive to his public duties. Whilst naturally attached to the great principles for which his father had laid down his life, he took a part of much moderation in the high disputes that agitated the reign and the parliaments of Queen Anne. He had been so far disposed to support what were considered the interests of the Church of England, as to vote in 1703 for the bill against occasional conformity; but in 1710, when he saw the passion of the time for absolute intolerance and bigotry, he was anxious to record his adherence to the great cause of civil and religious liberty, and in the memorable trial of Sacheverel, gave his vote against that fiery zealot. In 1711,

A.D. 1711. when the conduct of Lord Tyrawley and the Earl of Galway in the war with Spain, was, in the like heat of party, brought under the cognizance of parliament, he signed four of the protests that were designed to vindicate those deserving officers from reproach. The resolutions adopted against them were not justified by the facts adduced; and Somerville farther observes, that Lord Galway's services, which had often been signally meritorious, ought to have protected him from the severe censures with which he was now loaded, though his errors or misconduct had been established by more impartial and satisfactory evidence than was produced upon this occasion.¹ The fact is, that the Whig ministry had just been displaced; the earl was known to be wholly attached to their interest; and the vote of censure was accordingly pressed by the Tories with the keener energy, as the late administration would necessarily share in the opprobrium.

The debates on which these several protests were founded, occurred from the 9th to the 11th of January, 1711; on the 26th of the ensuing May, the Duke of Bedford was no more. In the full enjoyment of health and vigour, he was seized with the small-pox, at this time "a *plague*, deserving that appellation almost as much as the disease to which it has been appropriated." Neither inoculation nor vaccination was in that day known to the physicians. The duke caught the infection naturally. As soon as the disorder had declared itself, his wife and children were obliged to fly from him: it baffled all the attempts used to soften or subdue it; and in the arms of his weeping and devoted mother he sank quietly to rest. In the following pathetic letter to Lord Galway, she breathes out at once her grief and resignation.

¹ Somerville's Queen Anne, 4to, p. 422.

LADY RUSSELL TO THE EARL OF GALWAY.

June, 1711.

Alas ! my dear Lord Galway, my thoughts are yet all disorder, A.D. 1711. confusion, and amazement ; and I think I am very incapable of saying or doing what I should. I did not know the greatness of my love to his person, till I could see it no more. When nature, who will be mistress, has in some measure, with time, relieved herself, then, and not till then, I trust the Goodness which hath no bounds, and whose power is irresistible, will assist me by his grace to rest contented with what his unerring providence has appointed and permitted. And I shall feel ease in this contemplation, that there was nothing uncomfortable in his death, but the losing him. His God was, I verily believe, ever in his thoughts. Towards his last hours, he called upon him, and complained he could not pray his prayers. To what I answered, he said he wished for more time to make up his accounts with God. Then, with remembrance to his sisters, and telling me how good and kind his wife had been to him, and that he should have been glad to have expressed himself to her, said something to me and my double kindness to his wife, and so died away. There seemed no reluctance to leave this world, patient and easy the whole time, and I believe knew his danger, but, loath to grieve those by him, delayed what he might have said. But why all this ? The decree is past. I do not ask your prayers ; I know you offer them with sincerity to our Almighty God, for

Your afflicted kinswoman,

R. RUSSELL.

Elizabeth, Duchess of Bedford, survived her husband thirteen years, dying June the 29th, 1724, aged forty-two. Both were interred in the family vault at Chenies. They had two sons and three daughters, of whom William and Jane died infants. Lady Rachel, the eldest, was married first to Scroop Egerton,¹ Duke of Bridgewater, and secondly to Sir Richard Lyttleton,² K.B. brother to George, Lord

EGERTON.

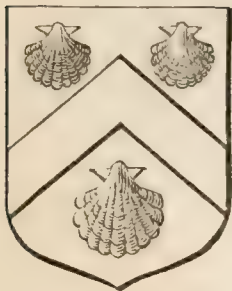


¹ Arms ; *argent*, a lion rampant *gules*, between 3 pheons *sable*.

² Arms ; *argent*, a chevron between 3 escallop shells *sable*.

A.D. 1725. Lyttleton, and died May 22, 1777; and the Lady Elizabeth, in 1726, married William Capel,¹ Earl of Essex. The eldest surviving son was named Wriothsesley; he succeeded to the title when little more than three years of age. The second son was John, born September 30, 1710.

LYTTLETON.



CAPEL.



There are three portraits of Wriothsesley, second Duke of Bedford, at Woburn; the first as a child in his sixth year, which has been engraved in mezzotinto; the second, in early manhood, with his duchess; and the third at a maturer period, as a portrait in a large picture by Jervis of his widow and family: the first two are painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller. Of Elizabeth, Duchess of Bedford, there are four portraits in the Woburn gallery. The first by Claustermans, as a child of ten years old, in company with her mother; the second by Kneller, with her husband; the third also by Kneller, in womanhood; and the fourth by Jervis, in her widow's dress, accompanied by her four children.

WRIOTHESLEY, THIRD DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Wriothsesley, third Duke of Bedford, was married at the age of seventeen, April 22d, 1725, to the Lady Anne Egerton,² only daughter of Scroop, Duke of Bridgewater, by Lady Elizabeth Churchill, his first wife, third daughter and coheir to John, Duke of Marlborough. His minority terminated in 1729, in the January of which year his younger brother, Lord John Russell, went upon his travels, in company with his former tutor, Mr. Hetherington, and a Mr. Bernège.

The tastes, pursuits, and mental bias of the two brothers were totally dissimilar. Whilst the younger, with a vigorous

¹ Arms; *gules*, a lion rampant between 3 cross crosslets fitchée *or*.

² Arms; *argent*, a lion rampant *gules*, between 3 pheons *sable*.



and active mind, sought perpetually to enlarge his circle of A.D. 1725.
 acquirements, and by the study of his own and foreign govern-
 ments, to qualify himself for taking that station in society
 which his rank, his fortune, and expanding talents, marked out
 for his ambition,—the elder consigned himself to inglorious
 indolence and ease, to the *dolce far niente* of fashionable life,
 or otherwise, to dissipate its gay monotony and furnish
 a stimulus to its occasional satieties, flew to the dangerous
 excitements of hazard—to the turf, and the billiard-table,
 where happiness and wealth, as though they were but
 worthless trifles, are made to depend upon the simple
 chance or the magic of a moment. By degrees, that which
 was perhaps at first closed in with as a mere escape from
ennui, was followed as a serious pursuit; he grew interested
 in the amusing occupation, and sent his mind afloat with a
 more deep and earnest aim upon the giddy fluctuations of
 ignoble play, until it was entirely absorbed by that pernicious
 passion. He was fond of the fine arts,—the portrait-painter
 Whood was domesticated in his mansion; he could derive
 pleasure and instruction from the pages of the poet and his-
 torian, which at one period formed the frequent resource and
 solace of his leisure; but, left somewhat too soon

EGERTON.



“ Lord of himself, that heritage of woe,”

with a heart too volatile, or with that careless flexibility of
 disposition which takes a ready turn and tone from the
 impulses of others, he learned, like an untrained falcon, to
 stoop at meaner prey, and neglected those capacities for wise
 and manly action with which he had been gifted. His weak-
 ness was soon noticed; his foibles were flattered and com-
 mended; and numbers crowded round him in the sunshine
 of his fortune, to pay court and tribute to his fatal love of

A.D. 1731. hazard, and to profit, at the favourable moment, by his credulity and folly. Many anecdotes have been related of the deceptions practised upon his frank and unsuspicious nature by the polished gamblers who thus found access to his table; and his name became a by-word in the walks of fashion for his depth of play,¹ and the graceful *nonchalance* with which he gave new wings to his wealth. He was as prodigal almost of his health as of his fortune; and scarcely ever going “beyond the walls of his own house, and denying himself those rational pursuits and occupations out of doors, which so essentially contribute to health of body and vigour of mind, both became enervated”² and shattered. The following letter from his chaplain to his brother in Italy contains some notices, at this period, of his condition and pursuits.

REV. C. TOUGH TO LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

Bedford House, March 6, 1730-1.

My Lord,—It is with a great deal of pleasure that I hear your lordship designs to set out for England in a little time, where I shall be extremely glad to see you well settled. His grace sometimes talks of meeting you at Paris, but does not seem to be resolved about it yet. He is somewhat better as to his health, but, in my opinion, far from well. He has been very successful this winter at play, and he pursues it with unwearied application. I cannot but say I am always in expectation of some terrible blow; for he is now engaged where all the sharpers in town meet, and he never suspects that he is cheated by any body. The duchess is extremely well, and the duke as complaisant to her as possible, so that she is mightily pleased with being at home; and she behaves herself in so agreeable a manner, that the whole country is pleased with her to the last excess.

The Earl of Essex is appointed ambassador to the court of Turin; to which city he and all his family set out in about six

¹ Walpole: Letters to Lord Hertford.

² Catalogue of Enamel Portraits at Woburn Abbey, p. 54.

weeks. We are still quite in the dark as to war or peace, but A.D. 1732. there have been very warm debates in both houses, and the Tories have tried every stratagem to distress the ministry; but the great man still keeps his ground. I suppose you have heard that Lord Hervey and Mr. Pulteney have fought a duel; they were parted by their seconds before any great mischief was done. Mr. Handel has diverted the town exceedingly with his last opera, and Senesino is in high reputation. Poor Whood has not been able to work this month past, having hurt his hand by a sash-window that fell upon it, which makes him a little melancholy. I am, with service to Mr. Hetherington and Mr. Bernège, my lord, your lordship's most obedient humble servant,

CHARLES TOUGH.

During the summer of the same year more serious symptoms of decline appeared; and he was urgently advised by his physicians to try the milder air of Lisbon. He was visited at this period by the Duchess of Marlborough, on her way to Scarborough, who thus describes her reception, in one of the numerous letters that exist from her to her favourite granddaughter.

Northampton, July 3, 1732.

My dear Lady Russell,—In my last letter I told you I would write after I had been at Woburn, where I dined to-day. It is not possible for any man to behave better than the Duke of Bedford did in all respects. He spoke upon every subject that offered with perfect good sense; was as civil as any body could be, without being troublesome; and, in the most obliging manner, not pressing any point too far, and yet shewing an inclination to have us stay at Woburn: upon my word, his behaviour made him quite agreeable. If I had time and spirits, I could tell you a thousand pretty things he said; and there is nothing that is so amazing to me, as that a man who appears to have so much understanding, who might have been so happy, and have made so great a figure, should yet have made, in a few years, such a havoc of his constitution and of his estate. It is impossible to see him without being touched with melancholy at the thought.

The family think he is worse than he was, and I think so

A.D. 1732. myself; but his eyes were sprightly, and he would not own that he was not well. Yet I observed, when we went into the gallery to see the pictures, he sat down very often, which I conclude proceeded from weakness. I made him as easy as I could in every thing, for I find he cannot endure to be thought ill; and therefore I did not take any notice that I saw it, but contrived to sit down often, as we talked over the pictures. Some think he will not be able to go the voyage he designs; but as he is young, and had certainly a great constitution, no one can say how that will happen.

I went all over the rest of the house in a chair with short poles. I am sure, if it were my house, I would never pull it down. I am resolved to have no fret-work in my ceilings at Wimbledon, but only very handsome cornices. The gallery has a great many pictures in it, which are valuable, as they belong to the family, and are in antique dresses. There is one of a countess of Bedford, that was quite charming—I mean her whom the father forbid his son from marrying. I really fear, if I had been a man, I should have disobeyed my father in such a case; for she was both beautiful and good. I am, dear Lady Russell, most tenderly yours,

S. MARLBOROUGH.¹

The Duke of Bedford sailed for Portugal in September; but he did not live to reach Lisbon. Becoming worse upon his passage, he was compelled to land at Corunna, where he expired on the 23d of October. His remains were brought to England, and deposited with those of his ancestors at Chenies. Such was the brief career of the third Duke of Bedford. His story furnishes a marked contrast to the acts of his predecessors. The deeds of gamesters are generally such as to deserve no commemoration; and it is well for them if posterity, sensible of all that might have been nobly accomplished, under other auspices, by the great variety of advantages and aids possessed, should be satisfied to visit their “forfeiture of fair renown” with the doom of oblivion,

¹ Bedford Papers.

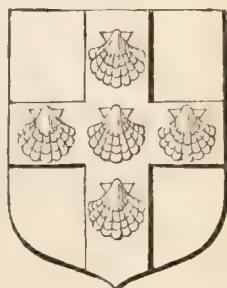
rather than the bitter penalties of censure. The Duke of Bedford left no offspring. His youthful widow married, for her second husband, William, third Earl of Jersey,¹ by whom she had two sons, and died June 15th, 1762. A.D. 1732.

Two portraits exist of Wriothesley, the third Duke of Bedford; one representing him in a figured morning gown whilst reading; the other in the robes which he wore at the coronation of George the First. Of Anne, his duchess, there are two whole-lengths at Woburn Abbey—one in her coronation robes, as a companion of the preceding; the other at a later period of life, attended by a black domestic; whilst several of a smaller size, in different attitudes, attest the industry of Isaac Whood, and the well-founded admiration of her husband. Her portrait, after she became Countess of Jersey, has also been engraved in mezzotinto.

It was during the lifetime of the third Duke of Bedford, that Rachel, Lady Russell, refined and ripened for heaven by the singular afflictions through which she had passed, but which had never for a moment weakened her dependence upon the all-wise Disposer of events, closed her chequered life, dying at her house in Bloomsbury on the 29th of September, 1723, at the advanced age of eighty-six. The following sketch of her character, by the most eminent female writer of her age in England, and the soundest judge of what constitutes the real merit and perfection of human character, is too valuable for a biographer to forego.

“What shall we say to Rachel, Lady Russell? Many daughters have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all! Such a combination of tenderness the most exquisite, magnanimity the most unaffected, and Christian piety the most practical, have not often met in the same mind. Whether

VILLIERS.



¹ Arms; *argent*, on a cross *gules* five escallop shells *or*.

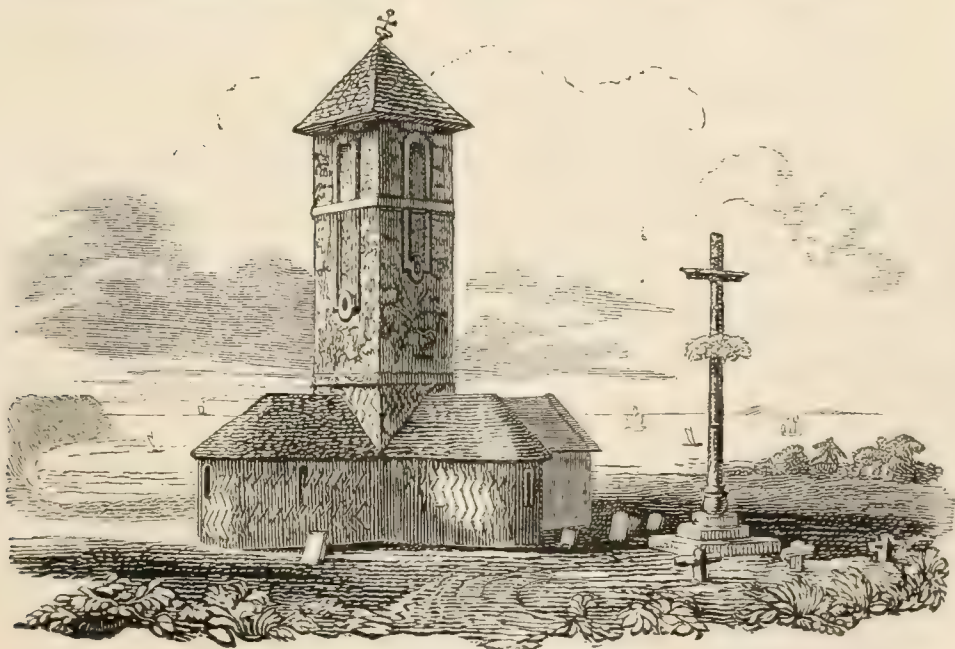
A.D. 1732. we view her taking notes on the public trial of her noble consort, concealing the tender anguish of the wife under the assumed composure of the secretary;—whether we behold her, after his condemnation, imploring a short reprieve for her adored husband, while the iron-hearted king heard the petition without emotion, and refused it without regret;—whether we behold her sublime composure at their final separation, which drew from her dying lord the confession, ‘the bitterness of death is past;’—whether we behold her heroic resolution, rather to see him die than to persuade him by any dishonourable means to preserve his life;—whether we see her superiority to resentment afterwards towards the promoters of his execution,—no expression of an unforgiving spirit, no hard sentence escaping her, even against the savage Jeffries, who pronounced his condemnation, adding insult to cruelty; no triumph when that infamous judge was afterwards disgraced and imprisoned;—if we view her in that more than temperate letter to the king a few days after her dear lord’s execution, declaring, that if she were capable of consolation, it would only be that her lord’s fame might be preserved in the king’s more favourable opinion,—had long habits of voluptuousness left any sense of pity in this corrupt king, it must have been touched at her humble entreaty, that ‘he would grant his pardon to a woman amazed with grief—to the daughter of a man who had served his father in his greatest extremities, and his majesty in his greatest perils;’—if we view this extraordinary sufferer under all these trials, while we admire the woman, we must adore the divine grace which alone could sustain her under them.

“ After this imperfect sketch, may we not say, that for an example of conjugal tenderness we need not go out of our

own country for a perfect model? Portia swallowing fire A.D. 1732. because she would not survive her Brutus; the *Pæte, non dolet!* of the faithful Arria, as she stabbed herself, and then presented the sword to her husband, to set him an example of dying bravely;—these heroic instances of conjugal affection, which have been the admiration of ages, are surpassed by the conduct of Lady Russell. *They* died a voluntary death rather than outlive their husbands: Christianity imposed on *her* the severer duty of surviving her's—of living to suffer calamities scarcely less trying, and to perform duties scarcely less heroic.”¹

There are two portraits of Rachel, Lady Russell; one a miniature, by Cooper, representing her in her full bloom of happiness and beauty, from which an enamel has been executed by Mr. Bone, and an engraving for the “*Illustrious Portraits:*” the other a small full-length figure, dressed in mourning, and leaning on her hand, with all the marks of settled grief and melancholy on her faded features.

¹ Hannah More's *Moral Sketches*, pp. 75-80. London, Cadell, 1821.



Querquerville Church, near La Hogue.

CHAPTER XXII.

FROM THE DECLINE OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE'S MINISTRY TO THE
TREATY OF MADRID.

A.D. 1732 — 1750.

Opposition to Sir Robert Walpole's administration... Part taken by the Duke of Bedford, 1734-41... Retirement of Walpole... Ascendency of Lord Carteret, 1742... Duke of Bedford opposes the introduction of Hanoverian troops, Feb. 1743... and the act upon attainders, April, 1744... War declared with France... Broad-bottom administration... Duke of Bedford sworn of the privy council, and placed at the head of the Admiralty, Nov. 27, 1744... Reduction of Cape Breton, April, 1745... Naval successes, and state of the marine under his presidency... is made secretary of state for the northern department, Feb. 19, 1748... His influence with Lord Sandwich... Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, Oct. 18, 1748... He directs the negotiations at Madrid... his remonstrances against the right of search, and commercial code of Spain... Difficulties of the arrangement, 1750... his *contre-projet* for concluding the differences, August... Attempts to push his advantages... His satisfaction at the conclusion of the treaty, Oct. 5... Pacific temper of the Spanish court.

By the decease of his brother Wriothesley, Lord John Russell succeeded to the estates of his ancestors, and became fourth Duke of Bedford, being then twenty-two years of age. He had married, in October, 1731, Lady Diana Spencer,¹ with whom Frederick, Prince of Wales, wished to ally himself, but was prevented by the management of Walpole.² She was the youngest daughter of Charles, Earl of Sunderland, by Lady Anne Churchill, daughter to the great Duke of Marl-

¹ Arms; quarterly *argent* and *gules*, in the second and third a fret *or*; over all a bend *sable*, charged with 3 escallops of the *first*.

² Nichols's *Recol. of the Reign of George III.*, p. 371.



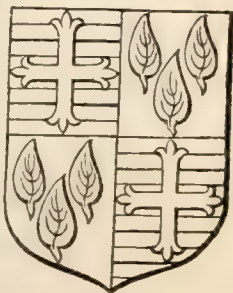
borough. By this lady he had an infant son named Francis, A.D. 1732. which died on the day it was born, Nov. 6th, 1732—a misfortune bitterly enhanced in 1735 by the loss of its mother, on the 27th of September. In April, 1737, he entered a second time into marriage, with Gertrude, eldest daughter of John, first Earl Gower,¹ by his first wife, Lady Evelyn, daughter of Evelyn Pierrepont, Duke of Kingston. These nuptials were more auspicious; for, on the 26th of September, 1739, their son Francis, Marquess of Tavistock, was born, and this event was followed by the birth of a daughter named Caroline, in January, 1742-3. A second son was also born to them in 1745; but he perished in his early infancy.

At the time when the duke assumed his title, Sir Robert Walpole had been long the potent head of a Whig ministry, controlling abroad, with a vigorous hand, the conspiracies devised by the partisans of the Pretender; and establishing at home a more perfect management of the machine of government than had ever been accomplished by any previous minister. But the grossness of the means to which he had resorted for this purpose, and his monopoly of the power to which he attained, already excited hatred, reprehension, and alarm; and an opposition, formidable from its various commingling elements, and the ability with which they were wielded in parliamentary warfare, was concentrated against him. Three very distinct parties entered into this confederacy; each commanded by leaders of consummate talent, who were followed with a greater or less share of popular applause. These were, the real Jacobites, disaffected to the House of Hanover, but not disposed to hazard much for its subversion; the Tories, faithful to the reigning

SPENCER.



GOWER.



¹ Arms; quarterly, 1 and 4, barry of eight, *argent* and *gules*, over all a cross flory *sable*, for GOWER; 2 and 3 *azure*, 3 laurel leaves *slipt or*, for LEVESON.

A.D. 1734. family, but angry at their absolute exclusion from all office ; and lastly, that segment of the Whig body, which either shared in the dissatisfaction caused by the neglect of their pretensions for employment, or, being animated with the more genuine principles of their party, disapproved of the minister's practices in sapping the private virtue that stood in the way of any of his projects. These were ranged beneath the brilliant banners of Pulteney and Carteret ; those beneath the uncompromising sway of Shippen, in the Commons, and the celebrated Lord Bolingbroke, in the House of Lords. As the misunderstanding between the Prince of Wales and his father ripened to an open rupture, a fourth party sprang up, who attached themselves more peculiarly to the service of the prince, but gave their influence to the other parties till the power of the great minister should be broken up, and a space be cleared for the exercise of their ambition. Of these, Lord Cobham came to be considered chief ; and under his guidance or direction, Pitt, Lyttleton, and a multitude of other geniuses who afterwards shone or thundered in the senate, spontaneously clustered. Pulteney was the soul and spirit of the whole combined array ; by his wit, by his eloquence, by his impassioned declamations for the reformation of abuses, numbers of the young and the aspiring were attracted to his phalanx ; and of this class of maiden politicians, the Duke of Bedford was not long in indicating the side which it was his intention to espouse.

In the session of 1734, on a debate relative to the election of the Scottish peers, apprehending the greatest danger to their liberties, if the sixteen members should be brought into every new parliament at the mere nomination of the minister,¹ he moved, after an animated speech, that the engaging any peer by threats or crown gratuities to vote for

¹ Parl. Hist. vol. ix. p. 487.

a representative of the Scottish peerage, should be pronounced A.D. 1741.
 a high insult on the justice of the crown, an encroachment on the freedom of elections, and an injury inflicted on the honour of the peerage.¹ In the following session, the first of a new parliament, he followed up the motion, by presenting and supporting that petition of the six Scotch peers which complained of the illegality of the late return, in consequence of the venal influence that had been exercised,—a course which led to several warm discussions, and being directly levelled at the Earl of Ilay, the chief director of Scotch affairs, engaged, in a high degree, the interest of the day.² In the session of 1739, which opened after the ministry had settled a convention with Spain, whose depredations had agitated to a degree of frenzy the passions of the nation, he commented with great spirit, in a reply to the Duke of Newcastle, on the address proposed to be returned in answer to the royal message;³ and seconded the attack by afterwards presenting and enlarging on the petition of the London merchants against the convention, and the insults of the Spanish nation.⁴ The small majority for the address in the House of Commons—the accession of the Duke of Argyll to the ranks of opposition—the declaration of war with Spain—and the violent altercations in the cabinet by which it was preceded, were so many formidable blows dealt at the power of the minister, and significant marks of its decline. Resenting, in the November session, some expressions introduced into the royal speech, on “animosities industriously fomented throughout the kingdom,” the Duke of Bedford declared that he knew of no animosity amongst the people, but a very general one

¹ Parl. Hist. vol. ix. p. 487.

² The subject was disputed inch by inch; the duke and the rest of the minority recording their sentiments in three distinct protests.—Ib. p. 776, 793, 796.

³ Parl. Hist. vol. x. p. 896.

⁴ Ib. p. 1039.

A.D. 1742. against Spain, and against the tameness with which the ministers had long borne the insults of that nation.¹ In 1741 a grand attack was made in both houses, by motions, for the removal of Walpole. That in the Lords was opened by Lord Carteret, and sustained by the Duke of Argyll in strains of fervid declamation. The Bishop of Salisbury urging that no one should be condemned unheard, nor punished uncondemned, the Duke of Bedford rose and ably combated his argument. Neither condemnation nor punishment was, he said, involved in the motion : its only tenour was to remove from power a minister who had no other claim to it than the will of his master, and who, as he would not have been injured had he never obtained it, could not justly complain if it were taken from him.²

On the 28th of January, 1742, the opposition at length triumphed, and Walpole was left in a minority. On the 9th of February he was created Earl of Orford ; on the 11th he resigned his power. But he managed in the meanwhile to ravish Pulteney of half the fruits of his great victory ; and whilst Lord Carteret was admitted secretary of state, Lord Wilmington, his own adherent, was silently allowed to slide into the vacated seat of the first commissioner of the treasury.

From the moment, indeed, when the downfall of this great, though too unscrupulous minister, seemed certain, the charm which knit together the heads of the confederacy against him was virtually unbound ; and it needed but some of those arts in which Walpole was so great an adept, to effect its dissolution. Under his secret guidance the touchstone was applied. In accepting a peerage from the court, whilst he permitted his most eminent associates to pass unrepaid or unconsulted, Pulteney was robbed of all his

¹ Parl. History, vol. xi. p. 33.

² See his speech, *ib.* p. 1213.

brilliant reputation. Regarded with dissatisfaction for not A.D. 1742. improving his victory to better purpose, he had to encounter either the secret alienation or the open reproaches of his late colleagues. At the celebrated meeting, held at the Fountain Tavern, February 11th, their smouldering jealousies broke out; and Walpole saw, with undissembled exultation, the magic orator disenchanted of his power, and the sceptre wrested from him by his enemies, shivered in their grasp.

Pulteney had flattered himself, that in refusing to take office he had given a perfect proof of his disinterestedness. In reply to a hope expressed by the Duke of Bedford, that “obnoxious men might now be removed, good men put into their room, and a change of measures brought about as well as men,”¹ he writes, “I agree that measures must be changed as well as men, and I believe they will be so: abroad, they manifestly are in every respect; at home, it must be our own faults if they are not mended. But, whatever turn affairs may chance to take, I am confident I can justify my own conduct to the world in a very few words. I will only ask this single question: what do I get for myself, after labouring with indefatigable pains for twenty years? nothing but what I was offered at that time! And now I persisted in refusing it, till I saw most of my friends provided for in the manner they desired. I wish I could have made the change more general; but I know where to lay the blame of that likewise, if it becomes necessary to repeat the truth. Upon the whole, however, I am very sure it is right to make the best of what has been done; and all unite in supporting the honour of our country, this family on the throne, and the present constitution freed from corruption.”²

¹ Bedford Papers; Duke of Bedford to the Earl of Bath, July 15, 1742.

² Earl of Bath to the Duke of Bedford.

A.D. 1742. Although the Duke of Bedford, on various occasions, had warmly inveighed against the late minister, there is no reason for believing that he was, like Pulteney, influenced by any personal or vindictive feeling. On Walpole's disgrace, he exerted himself successfully in saving Mr. Legge from participating in his earlier patron's change of fortunes; and it was by his influence that this gentleman, when compelled to give way at the treasury to Mr. Furnese, was made surveyor of the forests. But neither this transaction, nor the duke's political hostility to his father, escaped the eye of Horace Walpole, who revenged himself on Mr. Legge, for this abandonment of his first leader,¹ in a portrait somewhat too severely charged; and, although he was once on terms both of personal and political intimacy at Bedford House, the duke was henceforth doomed to bear, in common with every one who had a hand in producing the late change, his portion of that lively writer's asperity and sarcasm. The resentment is honourable, no doubt, to his filial affection, but somewhat fatal to the justice and impartiality of his opinions.

A very short time sufficed to shew the unstable basis on which the new ministry was built. That portion of the cabinet which had acted with Lord Orford, could not cordially co-operate with those who were recently introduced; and their disunion increased with the Duke of Newcastle's rising jealousy, as Lord Carteret obtained an ascendancy in the closet, by implicitly espousing the king's views in the conduct of the war upon the continent. There the success of the Austrians and the treaty of Breslaw had relieved the king's anxiety on account of his German dominions; and as a means of reducing his Hanoverian troops abroad, he resolved to take sixteen thousand of them into English pay.

¹ Memoires of the Reign of George II.

When the measure was introduced into parliament, it was A.D. 1743. opposed by the Duke of Bedford, Feb. 1, 1743, in an able speech, in which, after discussing the foreign question, he placed the motives of his opposition to the project, on his zeal for the House of Hanover, and his affection for the king. "The safety, as well as the honour and prosperity of a British monarch depending upon the affections of his subjects, it was neither splendid levies," he observed, "nor large revenues, nor standing armies, that could secure his happiness or power, any longer than the people were convinced of his tenderness and regard, of his attention to their complaints, and his zeal for their interest. If, therefore, it should ever be generally believed that the king considered this nation only as an appendage to his electoral dominions; that he promoted the interest of his former subjects at the expense of those by whom he had been exalted to the throne; and that the commerce, the treasures, and the lives of the British people were sacrificed to the safety or enlargement of distant territories; what," he asked, "was to be anticipated, but murmurs, disaffection, and distrust, and their natural consequences, insurrection and rebellion?—rebellion, of which no man could foresee the event, and by which that man might perhaps be placed upon the throne, whom the nation had so wisely excluded and so solemnly abjured."¹

These observations derived peculiar force from the secret preparations which the court of France was at that moment making, to seat the Pretender on the British throne; and we find the duke, after the dispersion of the fleet that bore Charles Edward towards the southern coasts, following out the same enlightened line of argument, in the debates upon extending the penalties of high treason to the posterity of

¹ Parl. Hist. vol. xii. p. 1091.

A.D. 1744. persons who should be convicted of corresponding with the sons of the Pretender. This measure he opposed with equal talent, energy, and perseverance; and the varied speeches which he delivered in the course of the discussion, were listened to with the more stirring interest, from the allusions which he made to the melancholy history of his own house. In his first speech he examined the origin and the existing state of the laws of treason, with the principles that would be compromised by their extension; he justified the part which his great ancestor had taken under an arbitrary government; the bold confederacy which had called the House of Orange to the throne; and warned his fellow peers against introducing greater facilities for compliant judges to lay prostrate the lives and properties of their descendants, if corrupt and tyrannical times, like those of Charles the First or James the Second, should again, by any chance, return and call for another renovating revolution.¹ In his subsequent discussions² he came nearer to the case that had induced the proposition. Though not less zealous than other lords for the security of the reigning family and the existing constitutions, he must yet oppose the clauses. In respect to his own personal objections, "Your lordships cannot be surprised," he said, "that I am alarmed at the proposal of a law like this; I, whose family has suffered so lately the deprivation of its rank and fortune by the tyranny of a court; I, whose grandfather was cut off by an unjust prosecution, and whose father was condemned, for many years, to see himself deprived of the rights of his birth, which were at length restored to him by more equitable judges. It is surely reasonable, my lords, that I should oppose the extension of penalties to the descendants of offenders, who have scarce myself escaped the

¹ Parl. Hist. vol. xiii. pp. 712-23.

² *Ib.* pp. 780, 793.

blast of an attainder." But his objections rested upon far A.D. 1744. wider considerations, which he eloquently and energetically set forth in a second speech, the constitutional tenour and political wisdom of the sentiments of which require no eulogy.¹

At a subsequent stage of the debate, he started fresh demurs lest the proposed changes should form an innovation of the articles of the Union ;² and, after they were carried, joined with seventeen other peers in stamping the measure with the strong disapprobation of his protest.³ Yet, in the September of the following year, he gave an unquestionable proof of the sincerity of his attachment to the reigning house, by being the first nobleman who raised at his own cost a regiment of foot, consisting of 1000 men, for defending his country, agitated at that time with general alarm from the progress which the young Chevalier was making in Scotland, and the overthrow sustained by the king's forces under Sir John Cope. His patriotic example was followed with alacrity, and helped greatly to stimulate the public feeling to that open demonstration of loyalty and union which soon extinguished the partial rebellion, and put an end for ever to the hopes of its promoters.⁴

Towards the close of the year 1744, the internal discords of the ministry tended to an open rupture. War had been declared with France during the spring ;⁵ but the disastrous results of the campaign had greatly increased Lord Carteret's unpopularity, whilst the discountenance he had given to

¹ Parl. Hist. vol. xiii. pp. 793-7. ² Ib. p. 852. ³ Ib. p. 857.

⁴ The Duke of Bedford's regiment was very serviceable in Staffordshire, on the advance of the Pretender's forces towards Lichfield and Derby ; he was himself prevented from joining it by a very severe illness : on his recovery he hastened to Edinburgh, whither it had then been ordered to march ; but meanwhile the decisive battle of Culloden had occurred, which rendered its farther service, except in garrison, unnecessary. ⁵ March 20.

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1744-5.

the reforms for which he had once so strenuously contended, had destroyed the confidence of his former friends in opposition. The Pelhams meanwhile had gone on consolidating their party; and a formal remonstrance now against his foreign measures brought the struggle to a crisis. Lord Carteret, created Earl of Granville, finding himself fast sinking, looked round for support to an union with the opposition; but in this design he was anticipated by his rivals. A negotiation, opened by them through Lord Chesterfield, brought the leaders of the various parties to a parley. Many of them were for stipulating for a repeal of the Septennial act, and other points for which they had contended in parliament; but finding unanimity unattainable, they appointed the Duke of Bedford, Lords Chesterfield, Gower, and Cobham; Pitt, Lyttleton, and Waller, Dodington, and Sir John Hinde Cotton, to decide upon the requisite arrangements; and these were finally obliged to put to the vote the question of conditional or unconditional coalition. A majority deciding for the latter, their adhesion to the Pelhams was sent in. Lord Cobham was gained by a promise that the interests of Hanover should be made subordinate to those of England; the Prince of Wales was conciliated by the assurance that his friends should be suitably considered in the distribution of power; minor points were speedily arranged; and on the 24th of November, the secretary's seals were transferred from Lord Granville to the Earl of Harrington.¹

Thus was formed the ministry, which, following the familiar terms then in usage to designate the comprehensive basis upon which it was established, came to be known by the name of the Broad-bottom administration.

In the new cast of offices, the Duke of Bedford was con-

¹ Coxe's *Memoirs of the Pelham Administration*, vol. i. p. 188.

stituted First Lord of the Admiralty, a post for which he was thought well adapted, from the knowledge he had displayed in several admirable speeches formerly delivered on trade¹ and navigation ;² and by his influence the Earl of Sandwich and Mr. Legge obtained seats at the same board. On the duke's acceptance of the Admiralty, he was sworn of the privy council, and was moreover made warden of the New Forest on the 12th of February, 1745.

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From the period of Walpole's resignation to the time when the Duke of Bedford took the direction of the marine, the annals of the British navy had been marked by little but misfortune and disaster. To the failure of the vast enterprise against the Spanish settlements in America, terminated by the lonely conquest of Porto Bello, succeeded the unsuccessful adventure on the coast of Caraccas. But these were thought light disgraces in comparison with the grave mismanagement of Matthews or Lestock, who allowed the combined enemy to break up the blockade of Toulon in the face of a magnificent fleet, " which ought to have entirely annihilated the naval power of France and Spain."³ The duke had, therefore, on his first entrance into office, to calm the national indignation excited by this lapse of reputation, as well as by the decision of the court-martial that was held upon it, which could only be accomplished by some signal and successful blow at the power of the French, and this at a time when the stability of the British throne was formidably menaced by the enterprise of the Pretender.

His first care was to issue immediate orders for every man-of-war in the several ports to be fitted out for service ;⁴ and, in stationing out the naval force, to obviate the mistakes

¹ See Parl. Hist. vol. xiii. p. 951.

² Ib. vol. xii. pp. 763 and 783.

³ Campbell's Admirals, vol. iv. p. 49.

⁴ Ib. p. 54.

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of previous years, whereby the squadrons of the enemy had eluded notice, or the too unprotected commerce of the country had been crippled by destructive seizures. Directions were transmitted with the utmost secrecy and despatch to Commodore Warren at the Leeward Isles to quit that station for Canso, in Nova Scotia, that he might be ready to co-operate with an American armament preparing under Captain Pepperel to surprise Louisberg, and drive the French entirely from Cape Breton. To secure, in his absence, the British sugar colonies from any sudden attempt, whether on the Leeward Isles from Martinique, or on Jamaica from Hispaniola, Vice-Admiral Townshend was ordered to the West Indies with a squadron of eight ships detached from the Mediterranean, which were replaced by others sent out under rear-Admiral Medley. In the chops of the channel, at the Downs, Spithead, Plymouth, and elsewhere, other vessels were distributed, which, by perpetually stretching in and out, kept the enemy on their own coast in a continual panic; other squadrons off Ushant or Kinsale maintaining watch, in the meanwhile, for convoy of the British trade-ships up the channel, or interception of the homeward-bound French fleets. In the dock-yards he found great mismanagement; indolence, favouritism, and profuseness; the commissioners, in many cases, old, obstinate, and haughty—surrounded by flatterers; and, to the great discouragement of ingenuity, nothing turned out but—able shipwrights and bad ships.¹ Some of these he pensioned off, superseded others, and supplied the vacant yards with men capable of introducing into naval architecture those improvements, for the want of which the enemy's ships, when given chase to, so frequently outstripped

¹ Bedford Papers. Lord Sandwich to the Duke of Bedford.

the British.¹ Amongst the officers a calculating spirit had crept in, which led them to base their expectations of promotion more upon mere length of service than the active assiduity of merit; whence it had happened that the honour, when it came, was regarded rather as a right than a reward; and if any apparent neglect was thrown on the pretensions of the expectant, his parliamentary acquaintance or relatives were summoned, to avert or to resent the fancied wrong²—a method which had proved but too often successful, to the injury of the nation, and the great scandal of the British flag. To this class of applicants he signified, that, without improperly overlooking length of service, the pretensions of all whom he recommended for promotion should be actual merit, not favour, nor prescriptive usage, — a constant assiduity of service either at home or abroad, and a readiness to undertake any enterprise that might be thought proper for them, without respect to either time or place, during the continuance of that, or any future war.³ Hitherto the younger officers had been daunted by the numerous array of seniors along whom, in far remote perspective, they glanced at naval honours. But when these intentions were promulgated, it gave briskness to their hopes, emulation to their actions, and a salutary blow to the oblique interest upon which many had depended. On the seas, accordingly, a spirit of undaunted resolution again began to shew itself, and a more vigorous alertness and wise economy to manifest itself in all the arsenals.

The good effects of these and other regulations were

¹ Previously the surveyors of the navy had built men-of-war according to their own judgment or caprice, by which means no two ships of the same rate were alike, nor would the same masts or rigging do for the one which served for the other; now, the proportions were established and fixed.

² Bedford Papers. M. I. to the Duke of Bedford.

³ Ib. Duke of Bedford to Captain M.

A.D. 1745. shortly evinced ; and there were not wanting fruits both of triumph to the navy, and advantage to the nation, notwithstanding some occasional failures where the enterprises were connected with services by land, to illuminate the period of the duke's presidency at the Admiralty with a portion of the lustre that beams around the memory of La Hogue. In April 1745, the intrepid Warren was at Canso ; the troops of Pepperel arrived. They reached Cape Breton before the governor so much as suspected their design. The harbour was blockaded, Louisberg bombarded, and, by the end of June, France heard with astonishment, and England with delight, that this western Gibraltar, hitherto deemed impregnable, the fortification of which had cost two million livres, had capitulated ; and that the whole island, the source of an unbounded fishery, which annually employed a thousand sail and 20,000 men, had surrendered to the British monarch. By this conquest the French fishery was ruined, their trade up the St. Lawrence to Canada commanded, and the homeward-bound East India fleet of France deprived of its stationary resource for stores and for provisions : so that it was soon felt by her as the severest blow, in the most vital part, that could have been dealt against her, and more determinative of the future peace than twenty victories like Dettingen.

The news of Warren's success inspired Admiral Townshend with hope and emulation. Discovering, in October, as he turned the southern point of Martinique, the French fleet of merchantmen and store-ships that had been sent for the relief of the islands, under convoy of four men-of-war,—he took, or burnt, or sunk, or drove on shore, nearly thirty of the vessels, amongst which were two of the men-of-war, the remainder saving themselves within shelter of the Port Royal guns.

The squadron meanwhile under Admiral Vernon that

guarded the southern coast against descent, keeping watch A.D. 1746. on Dunkirk and Boulogne, took several of the ships, with their soldiers, officers, and ammunition, that were destined for the service of the Chevalier in Scotland, amongst whom was the Count Fitz-James and his regiment.¹ The Chevalier himself designed to reach the Highlands by the western seas round Ireland; but the Duke of Bedford had not left that track unwatched; the frigate that bore, and the vessel, the Elizabeth, that guarded him, had their path crossed by the Lion, which, after an obstinate and bloody action that left her little but a floating wreck, disabled the Elizabeth, so that it was with great difficulty she returned to Brest. The prince escaped during the conflict; but he lost by the disabled ship a hundred officers, and a quantity of arms, which would otherwise easily have reduced Fort William—a conquest that must have proved a tower of strength to his forlorn cause, situated as it was in the heart of those clans that were best affected to his family.

In the course of 1746, seven ships of war, ten register vessels, more than a hundred privateers, and 360 merchant vessels, were taken from the enemy; but Admiral Anson, after a long cruise with the western squadron, for the interception of the homeward-bound fleet of France, was compelled in the winter to return without success. “From what I have felt this last fortnight,” he writes to the Duke of Bedford, “I think whoever happens to have success at sea cannot be too well rewarded; for I would not suffer the same anguish of mind that I have done upon this disappointment for all the honours, riches, and pleasures, this world can afford. If the fate of Britain had depended on my success, I could not have done more, though it has happened to no purpose.”²

¹ Mr. Knowles to the Duke of Bedford, Feb. 21, 1746.

² Yarmouth, at sea, Dec. 26, 1746, Ushant, N.E. by E. 70 leagues.

A.D. 1747.

But a happier fortune attended him in spring. Undiscouraged by the failure of her late armament for the recovery of Cape Breton, France had fitted out two squadrons against the British colonies in both hemispheres, the one commanded by La Jonquière, the other by M. de St. George. The Admiralty, apprised of the time they were to sail, sent Anson to encounter them, with Warren for his rear-admiral. He fell in with them on the 3d of May, as they shaped their course towards Cape Finisterre; and on the 11th, after the victory which he achieved, he writes to the Duke of Bedford:—
“ How cordially have I cursed the Dutch, who, I find (by the French General Jonquière), prevented his whole fleet from falling into my hands the last winter when he came from Chebuctoo, by one of their vessels informing him he was within twenty leagues of me, and must see me the next morning, upon which he altered his course, and steered for Rochfort. However, I have caught him at the rebound, and ought to be satisfied; but I wish he had had a little more strength: though this is the best stroke that has been made upon the French since La Hogue; and I am pleased that something has been done by the fleet whilst your grace has presided over us; and that if you quit us, which I never think of without uneasiness, Lord Sandwich will come to a board not quite sunk in its credit. There were two hundred thousand pounds in specie on board the French ships; and they say the equipping these expeditions cost a million and a half sterling.”¹

“ In my life,” writes Mr. Warren, “ I never served with more pleasure, nor saw half such pains taken to discipline the fleet. While I have the honour to continue in it, I will endeavour to follow the admiral’s example, however short I may fall of it; and could wish to be commanded by him, rather

¹ Bedford Papers.

than command myself. I must do Mr. Boscawen the justice A.D. 1747.
to say, and dare believe Mr. Anson will join in it, that he took the advantage his situation in the line of battle gave him against the enemy with great resolution and conduct. Our country has lost a fine young officer in Captain Grenville, whose fate is greatly lamented by all who knew him : what a pity it is that the brave can die but once to serve their country !”¹

The bullion that was taken, being landed at Spithead, was borne in twenty waggons to the bank of London. The honours which the Duke of Bedford suggested for the authors of this triumph, met the perfect concurrence of the king : Admiral Anson was rewarded with the peerage, and Mr. Warren decorated with the Order of the Bath.

Cruising with six ships of war in the latitude of Cape Ortegal, Commodore Fox, in the June of the same year, encountered and took above forty French ships, richly laden from St. Domingo. And a farther triumph, with yet more important results, was achieved in October by Rear-Admiral Hawke, who intercepted and engaged a fleet of French merchantmen bound to the West Indies. Six men-of-war remained prizes in his hands. The merchant vessels fled with all the sail that they could carry ; but a swift sloop being sent off to the Leeward Isles with this intelligence, a number of the remnant were taken by Commodore Legge before they could reach Martinique. In the West Indies, Rear-Admiral Knowles, who commanded there the British fleet, set sail in February from Jamaica against St. Jago de Cuba ; but being prevented by contrary winds from approaching that island, he steered towards Port Louis in Hispaniola ; and, after a three hours’ cannonade, possessed himself of the fort, which he entirely destroyed.

¹ Rear-Admiral Warren to the Duke of Bedford ; Portsmouth, May 18.

A.D. 1743.

This was the last great blow that was struck during the duke's presidency; although the superiority of British discipline and heroism was vindicated by many a minor conflict and prize on the high seas. On the 19th of February, 1748, he exchanged his situation at the Admiralty for the office of secretary of state for the northern department, on the resignation of Lord Chesterfield; at which period no fewer than 3400 vessels had been taken since the war began. But his management had results far more beneficial and extensive, if less obvious than these. When England first entered into the contest, "France was full of useful manufactures, covered the seas with her ships, had flourishing and growing colonies in the West Indies, monopolised in a great degree the fur-trade, rivalled us in the fisheries of North America, had the largest share in the galleons, enjoyed almost the whole trade of the Levant, and was daily worming us out of that in the East Indies; her merchants had universal credit, her ports were full of seamen, and her docks contained near threescore men-of-war of the line; in most of which respects, since the peace of Utrecht, her progress was as rapid as it was astonishing, insomuch that she became equally dangerous to us as a maritime and commercial nation, and to the powers of the continent, who were exposed to her armies and ambition.

"Now, the manufactures of France were either thrown up, or at a stand, because they could not be exported with safety; her colonies were in the utmost distress, even for the necessities of life; her fisheries at an end, the fur-trade under great difficulties, her losses on board the galleons and register-ships estimated at an immense value, the Levant trade gone. By the last accounts, not a trading ship was in the East Indies, little business transacted in the ports; most of the merchants undone, the rest without credit, unable, after such repeated losses, to freight their ships, or to bear the

weight of an enormous insurance and demurrage for months A.D. 1748. together, while the convoys were making up. Near 13,000 seamen were prisoners in England, besides those in other parts of the world; the rest disheartened by the memory of past, and reasonable dread of future captivity if they went to sea, by which means the privateers yet untaken could not get manned. Twenty-eight of the king's ships were taken or destroyed, of which sixteen were of the line, and the flower of his navy, besides several which had been lost or rendered useless in unfortunate expeditions; while most of those which remained were unfit for service, and obliged to continue so, till there were stores to make them fit: add the immense loss in shipping both of privateers and merchantmen; a superior navy continually on the French coast, with the probability of taking their convoys if they sailed, and a certainty of ruin to their merchants and colonies if they remained in port; and a fair estimate may be formed of the great advantages secured to England during the time the Duke of Bedford was at the head of the Admiralty."¹

Whilst he had the gratification to find that justice was done to his services by the king and his allies abroad, who, less to the chance of fortune than the spirit of his measures justly ascribed the frequent defeats at sea which the enemy received,² the duke's retirement from the Admiralty was so-laced by the expressions of regret which he received from the most eminent naval officers and governors on distant stations. He approved himself, throughout his presidency at that Board, a diligent inquirer into, and patron of, rising or unnoticed merit: and, amongst the many junior captains of this class, whose early deserts he had the discrimination to perceive,

¹ Lord Barrington to the Duke of Bedford, 1748; summary drawn up from a mass of intercepted foreign letters, &c.

² Mr. Legge to the Duke of Bedford; Berlin, May, 1748.

A.D. 1748. whose efforts and ambition he encouraged and rewarded, and who, afterwards, at the head of their profession, bore the British name “in thunders round the world,” were Lord Keppel, Lord Howe, and the celebrated Rodney.

The secret circumstances that attended the Duke of Bedford’s new appointment may occupy our attention for a moment. At the formation of the present ministry, the secretary’s seals had been conferred upon Lord Harrington; but this nobleman’s too great anxiety for peace lost him the favour of the Duke of Newcastle, who could

“ Bear, like the Turk, no brother near the throne,”

any longer than he might be content to play a secondary part: the seals were then conferred upon Lord Chesterfield. As this nobleman was known to be equally solicitous for peace, and personally unpalatable to the king, every body was surprised at the nomination;¹ but the fact was, that, having in a high degree, during a recent embassy, conciliated the good opinion of the Dutch, his services in the pending negotiation were deemed indispensable for a season. He continued two years in the office, when, having smoothed away the most pressing difficulties, he was thought no longer necessary; and the same offensive interference with the business of his as for-

¹ October 29th.—“ Yesterday morning I went to inquire how our master does, who has been confined some days by his old complaint, and was told, as soon as I came into the room, that Lord Harrington had resigned, and Lord Chesterfield accepted his seals. I came with the new secretary, who told me he scarce knew whether he stood on his head or his heels; that he came to town but the night before, had seen the Duke of Newcastle in the morning, who had asked him if he would accept the seals in case Lord Harrington resigned them; that he had told him he would, rather than an enemy should have them, but that he hoped Lord Harrington would be made easy by negotiation; and was never more surprised than when he was told, at his first coming to court, that Lord Harrington had resigned, and was gone home. Harry Pelham told me that he was as much surprised as any body, for that he was endeavouring to make things easy when he was informed of the resignation.”—*Lord Gower to the Duke of Bedford.*

merly with Lord Harrington's department, was renewed by A.D. 1748. the Duke of Newcastle.¹ Lord Chesterfield did not choose to wait to be formally dismissed; but on the 6th of February suddenly resigned the seals. The cabals at court were great on the occasion of appointing his successor. The Duke of Newcastle laboured for Lord Sandwich, who, to use his own language, "had done like an angel" at the foreign conferences, and who, from the private correspondence with him, which he fancied he had solely engrossed, might be easily, he thought, detached from every other party interest. But "all who either disliked Lord Sandwich, or had declared a contrary opinion from his upon the peace, virtually obstructed his promotion, to which also the king was very averse."² In this dilemma, the interests of Lord Sandwich were advocated by Lord Anson, who, knowing that the Duke of Bedford was willing to concur in any suitable expedient for furthering his promotion, suggested to him that the only way to end the dissensions in the cabinet was by resigning the Admiralty to Lord Sandwich, and taking the secretary's seals himself. The principal difficulty in the way of this arrangement, was Newcastle's probable jealousy of such a colleague. But this Lord Anson quieted by the assurance that the Duke of Bedford's sole motive for acquiescence in such a scheme would be to benefit Lord Sandwich. So "the Duke of Newcastle," says Fox, somewhat piquantly,³ "who, I think, never could mean to make the Duke of Bedford his colleague, thought of making him a shoeing-horn to Lord Sandwich. He talked of the Duke of Bedford for it; and

¹ Coxe's Pelham Adm., vol. i. p. 388. Yet he affected to deprecate his resignation. On the 14th January, he writes to the Duke of Bedford:—"The town is very full of Lord Chesterfield's intention to resign the seals. I hope it is without any foundation, for it would be a most unfortunate circumstance if it should happen."

^{2 3} Mr. Fox to Sir C. H. Williams; Coxe's Pelham Adm., vol. i. p. 390.

A.D. 1748. then said, he was sure his grace would expect it, and would acquiesce in nobody but *our friend Sandwich*. He was right in the first ; but as to the last, the Duke of Bedford meant Sandwich only in the second place, and himself in the first, which might, I think, have been easily foreseen ; and, though his Grace of Bedford says he takes it only for six months, nobody who knows him and the king, thinks Sandwich has a better chance for his nomination six months hence than he has now.”¹ It is certain that the Duke of Newcastle soon found he had overbent his bow ; but the real motives of friendship to Lord Sandwich which induced his new colleague to assent to the change, together with Lord Sandwich’s perfect satisfaction in it, fully appear in the Duke of Bedford’s private correspondence.²

The selection of Lord Sandwich to conduct the conferences at Breda, and afterwards to act as plenipotentiary at the Congress of Aix, had gratified both noblemen ;—the Duke of Newcastle, because a suitable equipoise to Mr. Dayrolles, Lord Chesterfield’s *too pacific* envoy, would be formed, and because he hoped to find in Lord Sandwich a new adherent, who would be guided solely by his counsels during the negotiations,—the Duke of Bedford, from disinterested friendship to Lord Sandwich, and because he saw in him an able representative of his own opinions, which were—a willingness to accept of tolerable terms for a pacification, but not, like some others, to run headlong into a peace, *quovis modo*. Lord Sandwich, by his prudent management, maintained himself much longer in the favour of both than could have been thought possible. The Duke of Newcastle was

¹ Mr. Fox to Sir C. H. Williams ; Coxe’s Pelham Adm., vol. i. p. 391.

² Lord Anson and Lord Sandwich to the Duke of Bedford, Feb. 5 and Feb. 13, 1747–8. By the Duke of Bedford’s influence, also, Lord Halifax was placed, in September, at the head of the Board of Trade, then vacant by the death of Lord Monson.

flattered by his assiduity; but when the sentiments of the A.D. 1748.
two secretaries varied, the negotiator did not scruple to follow the course suggested by the Duke of Bedford, to whom he addressed his more secret and confidential thoughts, and whose counsel and protection he solicited in all difficult emergencies. Under his industry and skill, the negotiations were brought at length to a successful termination; and the Definitive Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was signed by the plenipotentiaries of England, France, and Holland, on the 18th of October, and acceded to by Spain two days after. Concluded on the principle of a general restitution of all conquests, it was found impossible, notwithstanding all the efforts used, to retain Cape Breton; but as their last campaign had proved so disastrous, the terms obtained were considered very advantageous to the allies, and the peace was welcomed by the nation with rejoicings. Many important points, however, remained yet to be settled; and amongst these a farther arrangement with the court of Spain.

The sanction which England had given to the cessions of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, for the establishment of Don Philip, a younger son of Philip the Fifth, which had been long the favourite object of the cabinet of Madrid, had so far restored harmony between the two courts, that Spain had consented to a revival of the Asiento Treaty,¹ in favour of British subjects, for four years, for which period it had, during the war, been suspended; but there were so many other contested points existing, of a very complicated nature, as to render a separate and particular negotiation necessary; and of this the Duke of Bedford, after lending his anxious assist-

¹ A treaty by which the South Sea Company enjoyed the privilege of supplying the Spanish Colonies with negroes, for thirty years, four of which were unexpired when the war commenced.

A.D. 1748. ance to the general pacification,¹ undertook the management.

It was the great object of the British government to obtain from Spain the renewal of their former commercial privileges, and in particular a confirmation of the Treaty, signed in 1715, which was intended to place British subjects in the same situation as during the reign of Charles II. The difficulty of effecting this design was felt to be peculiarly great, for not only were the maxims that had swayed the policy of Spain, since the accession of the house of Bourbon, totally at variance with it, but she had become tremblingly jealous of the least direct intercourse of foreigners with her colonies. To check all foreign trade in Spain by heavy duties, was a first principle with every Spanish minister; whilst the correspondent activity of her *guarda-costas*, stationed every where to watch against the violations of her code of commerce, had a strong tendency to subject the British shipping to the same vexatious inroads which had hurried the nation into war.

The Duke of Bedford fixed on Mr. Keene, the English resident at Lisbon, for conducting the negotiation at Madrid. To no one could the post have been more happily assigned. From long residence in Spain he was intimately acquainted with the language, manners, and national peculiarities of her people. He could conform to all the gravity and circumspection called for by its saturnine and ceremonious court; he had great sagacity and penetration, and his conciliating conduct gained him access to those private channels of influence and information which are often indispensable to the

¹ By a correspondence with Lord Sandwich too voluminous to be particularised: occasional notices of which, however, mingle with Archdeacon Coxe's careful history of the Negotiations, in his "Pelham Administration."

success of diplomacy, but which mere finesse could never A.D. 1749. have commanded.

To Philip the Fifth, upon the Spanish throne, had succeeded Ferdinand the Sixth, a prince much less tinctured with hostility to England. His consort, Barbara, a Portuguese princess, who exercised over him the greatest influence, mingled an aversion to France with her favourable sentiments towards an English alliance. Their chief ministers were Carvajal and Enseñada. The first, a nobleman of great integrity and independence, participating, from habit and principle, in his mistress's dislike to France, but too true a Spaniard willingly to sacrifice the interests of his country, either to gratify the queen's partialities or to strengthen his own power. The latter had been the favourite minister of Philip, in whose service he acquired that strong predilection for France which influenced all his tastes, and which, however studiously he might seek to conceal it from the queen, rendered him the willing supporter of the interests, and a ready focus for the intrigues of the French court. Besides these and the Jesuit Ravago, the king's confessor, there was another individual whose power in affecting the negotiation could not be overlooked. This was Farinelli, the director of the opera, and the minister, as he might be called, of the king's diversions. He had risen during the late reign into consideration, from the salutary effect which his music was found to have in dispersing Philip's habitual melancholy ; and, without having any selfish object, he had since ingratiated himself so far into the queen's confidence, that the greatest possible court was paid to him, even by Maria Theresa, the haughtiest of the crowned heads of Europe. His modest merits, notwithstanding, rendered him as disinclined to the exercise of political influence as the confessor was ambitious of it. In

A.D. 1749. other respects, also, their sentiments were different. The Jesuit adopted the king's principle, which was, to keep an even balance between France and England; Farinelli, having amassed a considerable fortune in England by his professional talents, preserved a strong feeling of attachment to this country, insomuch that he took an early opportunity of waiting upon Mr. Keene, to assure him of his gratitude to the British nation, and his intention to render him secretly every service in his power.¹ This disposition, so necessary to the success of the treaty, the Duke of Bedford found the means of still farther enhancing;² and it was equally his care to impress General Wall, the Spanish envoy in England, with his high sense of the reception which the court of Madrid had given to Mr. Keene, whilst to the latter gentleman he expressed his unaffected esteem for the general's engaging qualities; and instructed him, as a proof of the perfect confidence which he wished to cultivate with the Spanish ministry, to transact his business with them rather by *vivâ voce* conferences than formal offices in writing.

It was under these auspices that the negotiation commenced; but the first conferences wore a bickering and unhopeful aspect. One of the topics to which the Duke of Bedford drew Mr. Keene's earliest attention, were certain innovations in the entry of English manufactures at the Spanish custom-houses;³ he required the Spanish ministers to place the duties on a settled footing, as the arbitrary course lately pursued, by an increase in the evaluation of British goods, struck at the very root of English commerce; since, upon any gust of ill-humour, it might be made to extend to

¹ Mr. Keene to the Duke of Bedford, February 25, 1749.

² Duke of Bedford's "most secret" letter to Mr. Keene, May 11.

³ Same to the same, January 12, 1748-9.

a prohibition. To these succeeded remonstrances upon a more important topic—a violation of the freedom of navigation, which had been amongst the chief exasperating causes of the war just terminated. The assertion of some writers, that the claim of Spain to a right of search was passed over unnoticed in these negotiations, is a great injustice to the British ministry, and to the Duke of Bedford in particular. It was impossible that he could consent to overlook a question in which the feelings of the nation were so deeply interested; and the account sent him by the governor of Jamaica, of an English merchantman near St. Nevis having been recently searched by a ship under Spanish colours, calling herself a *guarda-costa*, gave him an early occasion to invoke, in the strongest terms, the intervention of the Court of Madrid, to punish the authorities who instigated such an outrage.¹ To reconcile effectually the jarring interests of the two courts, Mr. Keene was instructed to direct the attention of the Spanish ministers to what formed the groundwork of every dispute between them—the exclusive and imperious spirit of the original institutions framed by Spain for the government of her West Indian possessions. They might be warranted

¹ “You know,” he writes to Mr. Keene, “how extremely jealous our nation is of the least encroachment of this nature, and the Spaniards know it too. The least spark of this sort may, if not timely prevented, kindle a flame it will be impossible to extinguish, without great loss and danger to both kingdoms. His majesty, sensible how much it is for the interest of both, to encourage and cement the strongest harmony between them, neglects no opportunity of concurring in so laudable an end, by readily coming into every reasonable request made to him by the crown of Spain. The Conquistador was immediately restored, notwithstanding the remonstrances to the contrary which those very people had made against whom the insult I am now writing to you of has been since committed. The king does not doubt of meeting with an equal return of attention and friendship on the part of his Catholic majesty, and that he will give a particular proof of it in punishing the insult complained of, and effectually preventing the like for the future.”—*Duke of Bedford to Mr. Keene, July 6, 1749.*

A.D. 1750. by her position at the time when, in virtue of her first discoveries, she claimed to be the absolute and universal mistress of the western seas ; but they were totally unsuited to her state, in the present condition of America, where England possessed so considerable an empire. Mr. Keene, accordingly, urged the necessity of a considerable modification of their nature ; and, to the justice of his opinions, he ultimately brought both ministers to assent,—Carvajal at last declaring, that when he voted on this subject in the council of the Indies, he contradicted the judgment of his fellow-counsellors : Enseñada, in his warmer way, acknowledging that he had often made the same reflections ; and that he thought the most beneficial thing that could be done, would be to burn all the laws of the Indies.¹

It was in the very nature of these austere regulations to lead to perpetual contraband adventures, which no government could entirely prevent ; and, accordingly, Enseñada met the remonstrances against the right of search with loud complaints of the existence of this traffic. The Duke of Bedford was convinced that these alternate disputes could be extinguished only by such a treaty of mutual advantage and concession, as might establish reciprocal confidence, and take away the present temptations to illicit trade. In the following private letter he exhibits his anxiety on these points, and confides to the British envoy his most secret sentiments.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO MR. KEENE.

Whitehall, Feb. 11, 1750.

Sir,—I reserve for this letter (which for precaution I have directed on the outside to be opened by yourself), those hints and informations which I think may be useful to you in the great work you have now before you, the extinguishing for times to come those

¹ Mr. Keene to the Duke of Bedford, December 8, 1750.

sparks which may be the most likely to kindle a war between this A.D. 1750.
country and Spain, viz. the depredations on their part, and the contraband trade on ours. It may seem, perhaps, too difficult a task to undertake, to root out the prejudices the Spanish nation has for near three centuries past imbibed, of their exclusive right of navigation in the seas of the West Indies, upon which principle their present laws with regard to that part of the world are founded; and it must likewise appear extremely difficult to obtain here, with the consent and approbation of the merchants, such an act of parliament as may effectually put a stop to all contraband trade carried on by his majesty's subjects to the Catholic king's dominions in America. But without these two points being thoroughly effected, it will be in vain to hope for a long continuance of that harmony which it is so much the interest of both nations to cultivate. I would therefore have you be turning in your thoughts the reciprocal concessions that must be made by each party for this good purpose, and the steps necessary to be taken both here and in Spain, for bringing it to a happy conclusion. The several complaints I transmit to you by this messenger are, I fear, too convincing proofs of what I have mentioned above, that unless things can be regulated upon a surer foundation in America than they have been heretofore, depredations on one side, and illicit trade on the other, will soon put an end to that good will, and I think I may call it, natural affection between the two nations, which is absolutely necessary to preserve the continuance of peace betwixt them.

I must likewise, in the utmost confidence, inform you, that it is very lately come to my knowledge that orders have been sent from Enseñada to Wall, in which that minister makes great complaints of the illicit trade carried on by the English to the Spanish West Indies, and declaring to him, that unless this trade is effectually put an end to by this nation, no Spanish minister can possibly advise his master to keep his *guarda-costas* and cruisers from molesting the English navigation, which he alleges to be the case at present. How far this is from the truth, the several complaints I have already sent you do but too clearly evince. And I can with truth say, that neither I nor any of his majesty's servants here are conscious of any illicit trade being carried on from hence,

A.D. 1750. which it is in our power to prevent. And all his majesty's governors abroad have the strongest orders to comply strictly with the terms prescribed in the several treaties now subsisting between the two crowns. I cannot, therefore, help thinking, that this pretext of Enseñada of the contraband trade now carried on by the English, is only to stop our mouths, in the complaints we are almost daily obliged to make against their *guarda-costas*.

I must add in this place, that the complaints I have already sent you against these vessels begin to give uneasiness in this country, which faction is daily endeavouring to increase; you must therefore seriously remonstrate to the Spanish ministers, that if they intend the long continuance of a firm union and harmony between the two nations, they do immediately put a stop to the illegal proceedings of their governors and cruisers in the seas of America, as far as it is at present in their power to do, as we on our part have always done, and will still continue to do, in every thing that relates to the most punctual execution of the treaties now subsisting between the two crowns. I am, Sir,

Your very faithful Servant,

BEDFORD.

Notwithstanding the more liberal principles that began to gain an ascendancy in the minds of the Spanish ministers, there existed a lively jealousy of every change that appeared likely to trench, though but remotely, on even the outskirts of their empire in the west. The British Admiralty had fitted out a couple of frigates for discovery in the South Seas, and in particular to ascertain the situation and properties of the Falkland isles. Although there was no design to form a settlement in either, their proximity to the straits of Magellan rendered the enterprise distasteful both to Carvajal and Enseñada. They stated their fears that, although no establishment might be fixed there, some other isle might be sought to be discovered, as a remedy for the inconvenience of so long a voyage to China; and as a station for the naval force of

England on any disappointment which it might experience A.D. 1750. in future attacks upon the coasts of Spanish America.¹ Mr. Keene was instructed to declare that the king, his master, could not, in any respect, give in to the reasonings of the Spanish ministers, as his right to send out ships for the discovery of unknown and unsettled parts of the world were indubitable; but that as a proof of his desire to cultivate the strictest amity, he would consent to lay aside the expedition for the present.²

This was but one of the innumerable difficulties which Mr. Keene had to combat, ere he could form any arrangement with that jealous and punctilious court. But pride, prejudice, and interest, were all mustered against the main object of his mission, the restoration of the British merchants to the commercial advantages which they enjoyed before the wars of the Spanish succession, and an actual confirmation of the treaty of 1715. Carvajal objected the little occasion there would be of any new declaration of that treaty, if England should be placed in the actual enjoyment of its benefits; and, in order perhaps to avoid exciting the jealousies of France, proposed to admit her to the advantage of it *by connivance*; whilst to obviate the objections of the customs, Enseñada offered, either to send secret orders to the collectors to demand the ancient duties, or to keep an account of the exceedings, in order to their being returned. All these expedients the Duke of Bedford pronounced frivolous and futile, and liable to every objection which the Spanish ministers themselves had urged against the renewal of the treaty; as it was not to be supposed but that the French and other nations who had a right to be treated as *gentes amicissimæ* would claim

¹ Mr. Keene to the Duke of Bedford, May 21, 1749.

² Duke of Bedford to Mr. Keene, June 5, 1749.

A.D. 1750. an equality in this privilege by connivance, as naturally as in those secured by special treaty ; whilst British commerce would still be subjected to the precarious humours, and fluctuate with every change of the Spanish ministry. And accordingly Mr. Keene was required to press, in the strongest manner, for the renewal of the treaty, by a declaration that it still subsisted in its full force and efficacy.¹

It was then proposed by Carvajal to grant the privileges sought for, but to limit their duration to a term of years ; and to admit the debt to the South Sea Company to pass *sub silentio*, if his Britannic majesty, by a secret article, would only engage not to make use of his authority in support of the company, when it should put in its pretensions for a settlement. The one the duke declared would place British subjects in a worse condition than if the ancient treaty were not recognised ; and the other was altogether out of the question, as he would never consent to deprive the company of that protection which was their due, and which the king had always exerted, to the utmost of his power, in behalf of his subjects whose situation demanded his assistance. Even supposing that circumstances were such as to require the entire abandonment of the company's pretensions, it was, he alleged, the sentiment of the whole cabinet, that it would be more for their sovereign's honour to do it openly and without reserve, than in a manner that would not bear the daylight.

He therefore, after much discussion, in August 1750, sent in his *contre-projet*, containing three alternatives, in one or other of which Mr. Keene was to induce the final concurrence of the court of Madrid, but upon no account to consent in either to any secret article that might preclude the crown

¹ Duke of Bedford's letter in cipher to Mr. Keene, July 13, 1749.

from supporting the private rights of any of its subjects whatsoever.¹ By these instructions, Mr. Keene was empowered to obtain the concession sought for, by sacrificing the remaining term of the Asiento, and compromising the claims of the South Sea Company for a sum inferior to their actual amount. But Ferdinand was peculiarly averse to an arrangement that would place him in the position of seeming to purchase the accession of his ally; Carvajal was full of scruples, and Enseñada strenuous in enforcing every objection insinuated by the French party. The queen had all along supported the British interest, but this alone was insufficient; the good offices of the court of Portugal were required and cheerfully exerted; but it was not until the personal credit and influence of General Wall were superadded, who for this purpose was recalled to Spain, that the efforts of the British envoy proved successful. A.D. 1750.

The Duke of Bedford fancied that he might perhaps push his advantage somewhat farther, and revive a private agreement that had subsisted between the magistrates of Santander and their merchants, which had been confirmed by the treaty of 1715; and accordingly, no means were omitted to induce the mention of this treaty in the new agreement; but nothing could induce the king to countenance an act that would permit his subjects to assume the character of sovereigns, or prevail with his ministers to open such a channel for the increase of contraband trade. After much fruitless entreaty, Carvajal consented to lay before his sovereign the representations of Mr. Keene, and his inability to conclude without this article; but the moment he commenced upon the subject, the king perceived his intention, and refusing even to listen to it, abruptly left the table where he was at the *despacho*. Mr. Keene accordingly yielded this point; and on the 5th of

¹ Duke of Bedford's most secret letter to Mr. Keene, Aug. 30, 1750.

A.D. 1750. October he and Carvajal signed the treaty, by which the British nation were restored to the same immunities and privileges as in the time of Charles the Second, with the same advantages in trade as native Spaniards, or the most favoured nations. All innovations in commerce were to be revoked on the part of Spain, and prevented, as far as possible, on that of England, and mutual differences and demands to be extinguished. In return, the King of England renounced the remaining term of the Asiento treaty, and accepted the sum of 100,000*l.*, as a compensation for the claims of the South Sea Company on the Spanish crown.¹ The satisfaction with which the tidings of its conclusion was welcomed by the Duke of Bedford will appear from the subjoined letter: no public mention was made in the treaty of the right of search; as the question, after the previous remonstrances, was by mutual consent tacitly passed over; it being hoped on both sides, that by the grant of these substantial advantages, the contraband trade,—the great bone of contention between the two nations, and the original cause of most of the wars that had risen between them,—might be kept under, without the Spanish governors taking such violent measures as searching British vessels by their *guarda-costas*, or committing such depredations as had interrupted their harmony.² And, “as the same complaints have never been revived, it soon appeared that Spain did virtually, though silently, relinquish her claims in this particular.”³

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO MR. KEENE.

Whitehall, Oct. 26th, 1750.

Dear Sir,—Though you will be fully apprised by my public letter of this day's date, of the approbation of his majesty, and of

¹ Coxe's Mem. of the Kings of Spain, vol. iii. p. 100.

² Duke of Bedford to Mr. Keene, May 11, 1749.

³ Belsham's Mem. of Kings George I., II., and III., vol. ii. p. 171.

their excellencies the lords justices, in regard to the treaty signed A.D. 1750. by you at Madrid, yet I cannot avoid troubling you with this private letter, to assure you how sincerely I join with the rest of your friends, in congratulating you on the success of your endeavours, which, indeed, have been exerted with so much sagacity and good conduct, that I can, without flattering you, venture to affirm, they have contributed greatly, if not entirely, to the bringing to this state of perfection the very difficult and important transaction with the conduct of which his majesty thought proper to honour you.

As all the real advantages of the treaty of 1715 are fully secured to us by the present one, and as the small variations in which this differs from the former are calculated for our advantage; particularly the inserting in the fourth article the words *ni sobre otras valuaciones*, and the word *pretenciones* in the last, which in the first place give a total exclusion to any future quibbles about the valuation of British goods, with which you had so much trouble at your first setting out with M^o de Carvajal and M^o Enseñada; and, in the second place, takes from those ministers and their successors any pretence for the future to mention expectations that may formerly have been given, of the crown's parting with any possessions which the circumstances of the times will not admit of,—I flatter myself all impartial and disinterested persons will see this treaty in the same advantageous light to the nation, as the king and his servants have done. The 100,000*l.* given to the S. S. Co. as a compensation for your giving up the four years of the annual ship, and the Asiento of negroes they were entitled to, as well as for the total extinction of all demands from the crown of Spain on the company, and from the company on the crown of Spain, ought to be considered by all impartial people, not as a sum adequate entirely to the sacrifice the company must make, on the foot of this treaty, but as a sum (if I may so call it) snatched out of the fire; and of which, without the intervention of his majesty, they could never, considering the impossibility of liquidating the accounts between the King of Spain and them, have ever received a farthing. Besides all this, the national advantages gained by this treaty, for putting the commerce of Great Britain upon a better footing than it has ever been in since the time of King Charles II. of Spain, ought surely to be considered preferably to those of any

A.D. 1750. company, though ever so considerable, especially as it is in the power of the public to make a reasonable satisfaction to the company for the sacrifice they have been obliged to make for the general advantage of the nation. This agreement alone seems to me sufficient to satisfy all reasonable and well-disposed people ; but when to this is added the absolute impossibility there was of obtaining a more ample compensation than that now given, and that which, in my opinion, seems the point of the most real national advantage,—I mean, the detaching the court of Madrid from its subjection to that of Versailles, and, if I may so call it, taking it out of wardship,—surely, in considering the treaty in this great light, all the nation must agree in the rightness of the measure.

Upon the whole, I cannot sufficiently express to you the satisfaction I felt in receiving your despatch, with a copy of the treaty ; and I trust you will believe, that its having come to this perfection in your hands and through your management, was no small addition to the content it gave me, being with the greatest truth, dear Sir,

Your very faithful servant,

BEDFORD.

“ Private and secret :” sent by General Wall’s courier.

Mr. Keene, in his reply, gives an interesting account of the audience to which he was admitted, and which exhibits in a lively point of view the correspondent satisfaction of the Spanish sovereigns.

MR. KEENE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Madrid, December 8, 1750.

My Lord,—I have waited for this opportunity to return my most humble thanks for the honour of the “ private and secret letter” your grace was pleased to write to me on the 26th of October, by General Wall’s messenger. And I likewise take the advantage of it to profess my gratitude for the source of every success I may have had here,—the clearness and precision of the instructions I have from time to time received from you ; the manner in which you have been so good as to signify them, as well as for the attention you have been pleased to shew to every private

request that I have taken the liberty to make to your grace that A.D. 1750. has had any relation to the national service.

I have real pride and happiness, my lord, in the approbation with which you honour me. It makes the deeper impression upon me, as your sincerity is as known and conspicuous as any of the noble qualities you are possessed of. And I will draw this essential comfort from it, that I do not appear to have forfeited any part of the good opinion you had conceived of me when you were pleased to acquaint me with your desires to charge myself with this work, nor, consequently, any share of that goodness and protection which you gave me leave to expect from you.

After presenting your letter, and accompanying it with the usual expressions of the king's friendship and esteem, I thought myself authorised to acquaint the Catholic king with the satisfaction of his majesty at the conclusion of the late transaction, and his resolution to cultivate and augment the harmony so happily established between the two crowns, for their mutual benefit.

I must confess, I only expected the customary short answers to these general expressions. But he extended his discourse in a manner I had never observed before, upon his particular friendship and esteem for the king; his satisfaction at the conclusion of the treaty; his resolution to maintain and augment the union between the two crowns; and added, that he did not doubt I had given a faithful account of his desire to compose our differences, and his readiness to grant all the facilities which could be reasonably expected from him for that end. He was then pleased to express his approbation of my conduct in general, as well as in this last instance, in such a manner, that I do not know whether it would be more vanity in me to mention it, or insensibility and ingratitude to be entirely silent upon it.

I returned my most humble thanks in the best manner I was able; and seeing him without restraint, and in a humour to admit me almost to a familiar conversation, I took the liberty to add, "As it has been the great object and desire of my life to see the two nations in the strictest friendship, I should think myself very happy in having served as an instrument in so glorious a work, which I now hoped would be completed under his just and auspicious reign. The experience of many years had shewn me, that the instances and

A.D. 1750. prosperity of both nations were so naturally combined, that the good or hurt they did to each other, retorted back on themselves reciprocally; insomuch, that nothing was more true than that, "to be a good Spaniard, it was necessary to be a good Englishman." But before I could reverse the sentence, he himself added, with a smile, "That to be a good Englishman, likewise, it was necessary to be a good Spaniard." I continued, "It is not only the particular interest and honour of the two crowns which will follow from their good intelligence and union, but likewise the security and happiness of the rest of Europe both required and depended upon it." And it was then I heard, what I never did expect to hear from the mouth of a prince of the House of Bourbon, the Spanish proverb of "*Paz con Inglaterra*," though, perhaps from that religious scrupulosity he observes in all his words and actions, he did not finish it with its second part, "*con todo el mundo guerra!*"¹

My audience with the queen was so much the same, that it was easy to see that they had agreed upon the manner of receiving me. She expressed great satisfaction at what had been done; and when I replied, how much it had been her own work, she said she was glad to have contributed to the good of both nations, and particularly to have had this opportunity of complying with the desires of the crown of Portugal.

I have, perhaps, been a little too fond and particular upon the language which has been held to me at the Buen Retiro. But the unusualness of it in that place to a British minister, and the cordiality and pleasure with which it was accompanied, will, in some measure, excuse my falling into this temptation.

I shall always think myself happy in having had an opportunity of shewing you a disinterested zeal for the national service, and of making known to you the gratitude and respect with which I have the honour to be, my lord,

Your grace's most humble and most obliged obedient servant,

(Private and particular.)

B. KEENE.

As it was necessary for Mr. Keene to continue at Madrid, to watch over the faithful execution of the Treaty, the Duke

¹ "Peace with England, war with all the world."

of Bedford reiterated a request which he had never ceased to A.D. 1750.
urge, and obtained for him the character of ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary at the Spanish court. The crooked genius of Enseñada, exercised in secret, was still felt in the struggles to evade the full conditions of the treaty, both as to the form of the instructions transmitted to the American governors, and the arrangement of the home duties, by which the most essential articles would have been virtually nullified. And it was found necessary, after many fruitless requisitions, to alarm the pacific monarch by menaces of war, before these obstructions could be satisfactorily removed. Carvajal willingly undertook to read these strong representations to the king, and supported them in a manner becoming his integrity. But there was little inclination in the King of Spain to endanger the tranquillity which he promised to himself from the present alliance, simply to be bound by the old yoke to a power that, in its separate conclusion of the peace, had shewn itself so selfish and perfidious. "*Paz con Inglaterra*" was, therefore, still the conclusion of the Spanish ministry; a resolution which the queen herself, in the gardens of Aranjuez, was the first to communicate to the British ambassador, which she did with many passages of compliment that indicated her pleasure at the result.

The Duke of Bedford was very desirous to procure from his sovereign some more flattering mark of favour for this skilful and profound negotiator. But his application for the Order of the Bath was rendered unsuccessful by the latent opposition of the Duke of Newcastle; and it was not till the disgrace of Enseñada in 1754, to which Mr. Keene powerfully contributed, that he was honoured with a token which he desired less from any personal vanity than to give necessary dignity to his mission in the eyes of a court where

A.D. 1750. scarcely any public minister appeared without some such decoration.

When the subject of the treaty of Madrid was laid before parliament, it underwent an animated discussion. It was attacked by Lord Egmont, Mr. Bathurst, and Sir John Hinde Cotton, and defended with ability by Horatio Walpole and Mr. Pitt. It was upon this occasion that the latter apologised for his concurrence in that opposition to Sir Robert Walpole which had led to the original rupture with Spain, and handsomely excused his former resolution to admit of no peace with this power, without a preliminary stipulation against her claim of "right of search." The address which sanctioned the treaty was carried by 203 to 74; and the circumstance, that five and thirty years passed by before there was any symptom of its being invalidated in time of peace,¹ is, perhaps, the most emphatic comment that can be advanced upon the sound principles by which the grave differences between the two nations were happily adjusted.

¹ Anderson's History of Commerce, vol. iii. p. 279.

CHAPTER XXIII.

FROM THE TREATY OF MADRID TO THE FORMATION OF THE DUKE
OF DEVONSHIRE'S MINISTRY.

A.D. 1750-1756.

Duke of Newcastle's jealousy of his colleague . . . Intrigues for his removal . . .

Duke of Bedford one of the lords justices in the king's absence, 1750 . . . slights received from the Duke of Newcastle . . . renewal of the Newcastle intrigue . . . direct application to the king . . . rebuff . . . threatened dislocation of the ministry . . . Bavarian treaty . . . Nova Scotia . . . Duke of Bedford supports the regency bill . . . his increasing dissatisfaction with the Duke of Newcastle . . . resigns the seals, 1751 . . . opposes the subsidiary treaties, January 28, 1752; and the Scots forfeited estates bill, March 10 . . . Memorial on the education of the Prince of Wales . . . Death of Mr. Pelham, March, 1754 . . . Duke of Newcastle's administration . . . Indications of hostility from France . . . New subsidiary treaties . . . Partial change of ministry, 1755 . . . Duke of Bedford declines the privy seal . . . moderates his objections to the treaties . . . Removal of Lord Temple, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Legge . . . War with France . . . Loss of Minorca . . . Resignation of the Duke of Newcastle . . . Duke of Devonshire's ministry . . . Duke of Bedford accepts the lieutenancy of Ireland, December 15, 1756.

WHILST the Duke of Bedford was thus occupied, he was the A.D. 1750.
subject of a deep intrigue, engaged in by the Duke of Newcastle, the aim of which was to free himself from such an independent colleague. It is well observed by Lord Orford, amidst some severer strokes of satire, that the latter was always caressing his enemies to list them against his friends, omitting no service to either, till either was above being served by him; and then, suspecting that they did not enough love him, he took, at the moment they had every reason to be attached, every method to obtain their hate, by exerting all his power for their ruin;¹ that he and his

¹ Memoires, vol. i. p. 144.

A.D. 1750. brother entered successively into connexions with every chief of a party, *till they had taken out their stings*, by dividing them from their adherents, and this being done, they were discarded.¹ The attempt was now to be made upon the Duke of Bedford, who, though a much younger politician, had so much natural impetuosity and spirit, that he was not likely to resign himself quietly to the infliction of injury, but rather in the encounter to leave some scars upon the front of his antagonist. The Duke of Newcastle had wished that either Murray or Mr. Pitt should have had the seals on Lord Chesterfield's resignation; "but the Duke of Bedford being in a condition to insist upon possessing them, he had had them, together with their constant perquisites, the Duke of Newcastle's suspicions and treachery."²

The first open symptom of this nobleman's jealousy was on the king's departure for Hanover in the May of 1748. In right of office it was the Duke of Bedford's privilege to have accompanied the sovereign thither; but dreading the separate interest which he might thus acquire, the former managed to trick him out of this distinction, and procured it for himself. He had thus engrossed the more active part in the direction of the negotiations for peace, and he now laboured diligently to detach Lord Sandwich from his friend. When he had some reason to suspect that this would be but labour lost, he grew angry with Lord Sandwich, and took offence at some deviations which he made from his own instructions at the congress: but when on their return to England (Nov. 23), he found that the attachment of the two was undiminished, he could no longer rein in his resentment;—the man who had heretofore "*done like an angel*," became shorn at once of all his radiance, and his impatient

¹ Memoires, vol. i. p. 144.

² Id. Memoires.

spirit set itself busily to work to compass the disgrace of A.D. 1750. both.

The Duke of Cumberland, who was pleased with the ability and industry which Lord Sandwich had shewn in conducting the peace, wrote to propose an accommodation. Newcastle, jealous of the duke's influence in the closet, did not even notice the letter, and carried his coolness in other respects to the point of absolute umbrage; whilst, at the same time, he threw off his very particular respect to the Princess Emily, in some unguarded expressions, which he afterwards aggravated, and still farther offended her by paying exclusive court to Lady Yarmouth, upon whom he leaned to effect the dismissal of the Duke of Bedford. And this he had great hopes of effecting: for making a direct effort for it in the winter of 1749, he fancied, upon hinting his wishes, that the king shewed himself not entirely averse to them.

The Duke of Bedford was not wanting in sagacity. The tortuous conduct of his colleague, though it might not yet awake resentment, excited his vigilance; he drew towards the Duke of Cumberland. The affronts which this prince had received, led him to engraft the quarrels of the Duke of Bedford and Lord Sandwich on his own: the princess shared in all his sentiments, and her new aversion to the Duke of Newcastle was not slow in producing its effects. Means were found to render Lady Yarmouth gracious to them: she received Lord and Lady Sandwich into a sudden intimacy; and the king paid such marked attention to the Duke of Bedford, that, stung at once with jealousy and anger, the aggressor could not avoid complaining to his brother of the constant presence of his colleague in the closet, and declared the utter impossibility of transacting any material business, either in his presence or his absence. The favour which he enjoyed

A.D. 1750. with the king, his almost entire monopoly of power, and dispensation of patronage and place, all availed him nothing, so long as the Duke of Bedford sat also in the king's gate.

Mr. Pelham saw with great disquietude his brother's differences, threatening ere long a breach that must embarrass him in all his measures. When next the Duke of Newcastle pressed the point with Lady Yarmouth, she advised him, as a friend, not to persist in his design, as its effect would be to render the king uneasy ; and the Duke of Bedford was not a man *à chasser du jour au lendemain*. On expressing his surprise at this apparent change in the royal sentiments, she still farther disconcerted him by the reply, "*Le roi ne savoit pas alors que votre frère ne la permettroit pas.*"

This declaration drove him into bitter reproaches of his brother ; but Mr. Pelham, who saw the danger and impracticability of carrying the duke's removal, at *this* juncture, refused to be either directly or indirectly concerned in his scheme, and even exacted from him, on the occasion of his again accompanying the king to Hanover, in April 1750, a promise that he would make no new attempt of this nature without his approbation ; an engagement to which he felt compelled to submit, and which, when it was announced to Lady Yarmouth, brought back to him all her good-humour, and assurances of friendship.

Meanwhile the Duke of Bedford, being appointed one of the lords justices during the king's absence, entered with interest into all the more important business that came before them, maintaining an active correspondence, on various cases affecting the rights or privileges of British merchants, with the ambassadors at the courts of Turin, Genoa, and Spain. But his closest intercourse was with Lord Albemarle, our ambassador at the court of France. For at this moment there

were several topics of dispute under discussion, arising from A.D. 1750. the reluctant fulfilment of the definitive treaty on the part of France, who manifested an intention of appropriating the neutral isles of St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Dominica, and Martinique, and took actual possession of Tobago, which was considered to belong to England; she had, besides, interfered with our exclusive trade to Annamabo and other stations on the African coast, and had made some alarming encroachments on the British possessions in Nova Scotia, the tendency of which was to impede the growth of the new colonies establishing there. These possessions being confined to England by the late treaty “according to their ancient limits,” without being clearly defined, had given this opening to the intrigues of France; and the proceedings of her officers being of so equivocal a nature, it was found necessary to appoint commissaries on both sides; and the dispute assumed increasing importance, from the high tone taken at Versailles. There, M. de Puysieux affected to believe, that the acts attributed to their agents must have been excited by some unwarrantable step or other of the English governor, Cornwallis; and when solicited to assist in fixing on the charts the British limits in the channel and north seas, he declined any concern in the transaction, which was therefore referred to the commissaries. The conduct of the French commissaries was still more extraordinary, as they threatened, at the very outset of the conferences, to break them off, unless the order which *they* had marked out should be assented to, for the discussion of the points at issue. Owing to the spirited appeals of the Duke of Bedford, they indeed consented ultimately to wave this requisition; but the explanations of Puysieux on the main subjects were so unsatisfactory, and it became so obvious that efforts were insidiously making to stir up the Indians to

A.D. 1750. destroy the tribes on the Ohio in alliance with this country, that the duke required Cornwallis to increase his forces to the full complement, and if the emergency arose, to assert the sovereign's rights against any enemy whatsoever, whether Indian or European. But as the professions of friendship made by France might chance to be sincere, notwithstanding these suspicious appearances, the duke, in transmitting these instructions, urged him to act with the wisest caution and forbearance till the necessity arrived; whilst he himself followed up his past memorials and letters with the strongest expostulations to the court of France.¹

In the meantime, the Duke of Newcastle grew impatient of the restraint imposed upon him, and by all the indirect means in his power laboured with his brother, with the king, with Lady Yarmouth, to destroy the credit of his colleague. To the Duke of Bedford personally his conduct was equally offensive. For, whilst engaged in the treaty with the Elector of Bavaria, he studiously concealed from him all knowledge of the negotiation, till it was actually signed. He then transmitted him a copy to lay before the lords justices, for his and their opinions on it. The Duke of Bedford was not slow in evincing his sense of this farce,—he complained to Mr. Pelham of their proceedings, which had reduced him to a mere cipher in the government; declined attending deliberations when the points to be discussed were all irrevocably settled; and devoted himself more agreeably either to business in which his services might really avail his sovereign, or to those country recreations and agricultural pursuits to which he had always a strong inclination. The Duke of Newcastle, impertinently inquisitive into all his movements, exaggerated his occasional absence from council into the grossest neglect

¹ From the minutes of the lords justices' meetings, *passim*; Bedford Papers.

of business and duty, and malicious hints to this effect were A.D. 1750. thrown out to his disadvantage with the king, now by him, and now by his tutored secretary, Mr. Stone. To the fears arising from the influence of his colleague, other yet more extraordinary jealousies were shortly added. The Duke of Bedford had continued to cultivate his intercourse with the Duke of Cumberland and Princess Emily ; he was frequently invited to join their pleasure-parties on the water, and was sometimes honoured with visits from them at his Woburn mansion. To the same scenes of entertainment Mr. Pelham also was occasionally invited ; his acceptance of these courtesies was construed by Newcastle into a defection from himself. He accordingly held to his brother the most singular language ; accused him of entering into the intrigue and league against him, the object of which was to fix a brand upon, and excommunicate him from society ; complained bitterly of their royal highnesses ; stated the impossibility of his going on any longer whilst subjected to their cruel treatment ; and threatened to resign his station in the ministry if his friends would not join in the removal of his rival. Both Mr. Pelham and the Lord Chancellor Hardwicke warned him of the risks he ran by yielding to this infatuation,—soothed him—remonstrated with him—but all to little purpose.¹ From the moment he resumed these surreptitious arts, Lady Yarmouth, well informed of all that passed, changed her cheer to him ; shunned all opportunities of private conversation ; and the king himself grew more reserved and cooler to him than before, gave him short audiences, and occasionally, whether in petulance or irony it is difficult to say, threw out equivocal expressions of uneasiness or anger, that both startled and troubled him, as he knew not exactly

¹ Coxe's Pelham Adm., App.

A.D. 1750. the real sentiment which they were meant to indicate ; and his irritable temper fluctuated accordingly through all the feverish accesses of hope, suspense, and fear. His correspondence from this time to the king's return in November, exhibits him as the most miserable of men : his passions had no rest ; he summoned all the friendship of his brother and the Chancellor to aid him in his project,—was always dissatisfied with their replies, yet always provoking their opinions. The intended appointment of the Duke of Dorset to the lieutenancy of Ireland was likely, however, to create a vacancy in the presidency of the council : and it would appear that the king had some thoughts of naming the Duke of Bedford to this office ; but meanwhile the Duke of Richmond died, and the mastership of the horse also became vacant. Whilst the former seemed to present an opening for the removing of his colleague, the Duke of Newcastle was in high spirits ; urged his friends in England to persuade the duke to take it,—and was even willing, so that that could be accomplished, to try Lord Chesterfield again, and even to embrace for a colleague his old enemy Lord Granville. His friends sounded the Duke of Cumberland and the princess, and reported that the Duke of Bedford would not resign, unless Lord Sandwich should be nominated his successor. Lady Yarmouth now suggested to him that the Duke of Bedford might possibly be made easy with the latter office. This suggestion was, if possible, yet more distasteful than the prospect of having Lord Sandwich for his colleague, from the nearness of such an employment to the king's person ; and he reminded her that there were two vacancies, that and president ; to which she made him this provoking answer, “ *Non ! cela il ne veut pas prendre !*” But she stated that the duke might like that of master of the horse,

in which case the king was willing he should have it: she A.D. 1750.
was withal anxious to prevent the Duke of Newcastle from speaking to the sovereign at all upon the subject.

But a few days after, a favourable opportunity presented itself for learning the king's sentiments; Lord Paulett applied for the office. His letter was laid before the king, who, in the conversation that ensued, observed, "I see very plainly how lamely things go on, and do not think that I have not seen it for some time; but they went well in parliament, and you and I, my lord, cannot do it alone,—we must have the council with us." It was obvious that he would recognise no step which was not countenanced by Mr. Pelham; as both himself and Lady Yarmouth took care to apprise the duke that a formal application was expected from his brother before any change in this respect would be determined on.

The Duke of Newcastle, notwithstanding, was delighted with the prospect of success which thus gleamed upon his fancy. He represented to Mr. Pelham that every thing now depended upon him; expatiated on the irksomeness of his situation; and urged him, with the greatest earnestness, to write an ostensible letter that might be shewn the king, sanctioning his enemy's removal. He even dictated the strain in which it should be couched; and laboured to convince his brother that no blame could now be laid to his door, on the plea of interference, as the proposal of a change originated so entirely with the king.

Mr. Pelham, however, was not to be led by this miserable sophistry; he absolutely refused to write the letter. This diversity of sentiment again produced mutual irritation and estrangement; and again the administration was exposed to the danger of a dissolution, because the Duke of Bedford chose to have a will and an opinion of his own, and the Duke

A.D. 1750. of Newcastle, like a petted child, could not have the plaything that he cried for.

Hitherto the Duke of Bedford seems to have sustained with great forbearance the open neglects and secret attacks to which he had been subjected; but the pertinacity of these manœuvres at length excited his active indignation; and, though Mr. Fox sought to persuade him to acquiesce in Lady Yarmouth's plan, as he would have more opportunities of crossing his enemies whilst he stayed at court, than probability of returning thither, if once totally removed,¹ he refused all assent to it unless he might name Lord Sandwich his successor; and in this resolution he was strongly supported by the Duke of Cumberland and the princess. This determination disconcerted the whole design; for as the king would by no means accept Lord Sandwich, no alternative remained but the absolute dismissal of the Duke of Bedford; a procedure which Mr. Pelham was by no means disposed to risk, from a conviction that, whichever party should prevail, neither would be able alone to carry on the king's affairs in parliament.² He did, however, in December, when the king was returned, consent to speak upon the subject, after many weeks' incessant importunity; but the hopes of Newcastle were again disappointed, by a mild but peremptory refusal. Mr. Pelham respectfully submitted to the decision,—the duke rebelled against it; and when he could not prevail upon the former to press the affair further, he suspended all intercourse with him, and actually meditated the settling a new administration, either by negotiating with Earl Granville, or striving to conciliate the Duke of Cumberland by offering Lord Sandwich the secretary's seals. Their disunion did not pass unimproved by those who grudged that

¹ Lord Orford's Memoires, p. 162. ² Coxe's Pel. Adm. vol. ii. p. 132.

monopoly of power which the Duke of Newcastle was endeavouring to acquire: the whole government gave symptoms of splitting into separate clanships. The Duke of Bedford had his adherents; Fox attached himself to Mr. Pelham, Pitt to Newcastle, and Lord Cobham and his party to the Prince of Wales, whose residence at Leicester House became the rallying point of opposition; and in this state of things the session of parliament was opened, January 17th, 1751. A.D. 1751.

The Duke of Bedford, on the king's return to England, effectually succeeded in removing any unfavourable impression which he might have conceived from the misrepresentations of his colleague; insomuch that when the latter made a fourth attempt to remove him, the king declared that he would have no present change, and that whoever should importune him on the subject would incur his royal displeasure, as the aggressor.¹ In April, the Duke of Bedford applied for the lord lieutenancy of Devonshire, and obtained it; regained his former familiar footing in the closet; and in conducting the necessary correspondence with the ambassadors at the courts of France, Sardinia, and Spain, acquitted himself greatly to the king's satisfaction.²

Against the treaty recently concluded for the Bavarian subsidy, the Duke of Bedford had so strong an objection, that he would undoubtedly have opposed it in parliament, had he not been solemnly assured by Mr. Pelham that it should be the last, and that the impending election of a king of the Romans should be effected without further pecuniary sacrifices: upon this distinct condition he assented to it.³ He interested himself also in the affair of Nova Scotia, for which

¹ Mr. Fox to Sir C. H. Williams, Feb. 7-18, 1751.

² Bedford Papers: daily journal of business with the king.

³ Coxe's Pelham Adm. vol. ii. p. 151.

A.D. 1751. province two gun-ships had been written for by Lord Halifax, upon the strength of a report that the French were sending a fleet thither. With this application the Admiralty had refused compliance, lest it should draw on a new war; whilst the Board of Trade presented a memorial in its favour. Every question was now tinged with the divisions in the cabinet. When the Duke of Bedford laid this memorial before the king, he stated that he had summoned a council on it at Bedford House, but believed they would not think it proper to agree to the proposal. To this opinion the sovereign assented; the Duke of Newcastle was present, but said not a word. Mr. Pelham, on receiving the summons, signified that he would attend, but did not suppose that he should think the proposal fit to be complied with: notwithstanding which, he at the meeting supported the Board of Trade, and the measure was carried by six to four. The Duke of Newcastle, as a matter of course, although he had been so silent in the presence-chamber, opposed the Duke of Bedford; and took so little care to conceal his real motive, that he would have carried to vote *with* him the very heads of the two contending boards.¹ The Duke of Bedford refused to admit them; he told the two brothers to their face, that their opposition was intended as an act of hostility to him; and his friends, on the introduction of the naturalization bill, which was promoted by the Pelhams, shewed their resentment by quitting the house before the division, and the bill was lost. Yet the Duke of Bedford permitted no personal considerations to interfere with his sense of public duty upon any important subject; for when, by the sudden death of the Prince of Wales, it was necessary to make provisions for a regency, he, “ though con-

¹ Lords Halifax and Anson.

nected with and wishing well to the Duke of Cumberland, A.D. 1751. and upon no terms with the Princess, had the honesty to be the first man who declared for her being regent. The Pelhams took care not to disagree with him on this article;¹ nor to consult him upon any other in the bill which they prepared,² for the perpetuation of their power. Their plan was to circumscribe the authority of the princess by a council, over which the Duke of Cumberland was simply to preside; and to surround the heir-presumptive exclusively by their own adherents. To the regency restrictions, notwithstanding that the king insisted on them, the Duke of Bedford, from a sense of the great impolicy of dividing the regal powers, was so vehemently opposed, that, although laid up with an acute illness at the time of the debate upon them, he would have attended parliament, and opposed the whole tenour of them, had he not been restrained by his friends, who shewed him the absolute uselessness of his opposition, and the imprudence of offering the king a gratuitous offence.³

When the bill had passed, and they had effected their purpose with respect to the preceptors of Prince George, the Pelhams resolved to enjoy the power which they had secured. The Prince of Wales's death having scattered the powers of the rising opposition, they judged that they had at length "taken out the sting" of the Duke of Bedford,—that his interest in the House of Commons could now turn no scale into which it might be thrown; and they accordingly joined in a fresh application for his dismissal. When Mr. Pelham found that the king still positively refused to sanction the proceeding, he had recourse to a deeper *ruse de guerre*. He knew that there existed a personal disinclination to Lord Sandwich, and that his dismissal would secure the duke's

¹ Lord Orford : Memoires, p. 85.

² Ib. p. 140.

³ Ib.

A.D. 1751. resignation: he suggested, therefore, that nobleman's removal, which was easily obtained. To add poignancy to this stroke of his revenge, the Duke of Newcastle sent the duke's former adherent, Mr. Legge, to acquaint him with his friend's removal. It was an ungrateful act on the part of Mr. Legge, who had received infinite kindnesses and services from the duke.¹ "The latter met him on the steps of Bedford House, as he was going to Lord Gower, to know what part he would take on this crisis, and would scarce give him audience; but even that short interview could not save Legge from the confusion he felt at his own policy; and with the awkwardness that conscience will give even to an ambassador, he said he had happened, as he was just going out of town, to visit the Duke of Newcastle, where he had not been for two months before, and had been requested by him to be the bearer of this notification."²

On the following day the Duke of Bedford went to Kensington, in order to resign the seals. He found none of the opposite party there but Lord Lincoln, "whom he desired to acquaint the Duke of Newcastle with what he was going to say to the king. 'Tell him, my lord, because perhaps he would not like to come in and hear it; I shall neither say more nor less for his presence or absence: if he comes into the closet and begins to dispute, I will not altercate with him there; I will afterwards, whenever he pleases.' When he went in to the king, he spoke above an hour warmly and sensibly on his own grievances, particularly on the Duke of Dorset's being designed lord lieutenant for six months before he was made acquainted with it; on his relation, Lord Hartington's being named, in the same manner, master of the

¹ Bedford Papers: correspondence of Mr. Legge.

² Lord Orford: *Memoires*, p. 166.

horse, and called up to the House of Peers, for which he had A.D. 1751.
that very morning kissed hands; on the dismissal of his friend Lord Sandwich; and on all the treacheries of the Duke of Newcastle, which he recapitulated.”¹ He told the king, that every measure relating to his majesty’s service was so concerted as to serve the interests of the Duke of Newcastle and increase his power, as he could prove by a hundred instances, but would mention only one. “Your majesty,” he continued, “will find that as soon as I am out of the secretary’s office, one considerable part of it will be lopped off, and thrown into the hands of the first commissioner of trade, Lord Halifax.”² This is an affair settled without the knowledge of your majesty. I mention it, not from hostility to Lord Halifax, but to shew your majesty that persons are to be ill-treated and removed, and the chief offices of the state are to be mangled, altered, and lowered, at the pleasure of the Duke of Newcastle and his party, in order to promote their scheme of engrossing all power to themselves and their creatures.”³ “He concluded with declaring, that their persecution of him and Lord Sandwich arose solely from their attachment to his son the duke; and then desired leave to resign the seals. The king was struck and pleased with this remonstrance; agreed to all he had said of the Duke of Newcastle, but doubted of the facts charged on Mr. Pelham. He told the Duke of Bedford, that if he was uneasy in his present post, he would give him that of president; but the Duke said it was impossible for him to act with the two brothers. He begged three reversions in the secretary’s office, for his two secretaries, Mr. Levison and Mr. Aldworth, and his steward; to which the

¹ Lord Orford: *Memoires*, p. 167–8.

³ Coxe’s *Pelham Adm.* p. 189.

² Which was afterwards the case.

A.D. 1752. king deferred giving an answer till next day, but then granted them, and parted with him with particular marks of favour and approbation.”¹

The British ambassadors abroad, on receiving the news of this event, expressed their regret in terms beyond the tenour of mere compliment ; and as we are informed, by Lord Orford, that the tide of popularity was setting strongly in during the session in favour of the duke and Mr. Fox, the king was at no pains to conceal his displeasure with the restless author of the intrigue. In delivering the seals to Lord Holderness, which was in the presence of the Duke of Newcastle, he charged the new secretary to confine himself to the business of his province, and not to render it what it had lately been—a mere office of faction ; and to the Duke of Newcastle himself he did not condescend even to speak for several weeks.²

Parliament was prorogued on the 25th of June ; the negotiations for electing a king of the Romans were resumed. Into the wilderness of these continental politics it is impossible for us to enter : the king and the ministry ran headlong into them, and a fresh subsidiary treaty was struck with the King of Poland, elector of Saxony, to purchase another vote for the Archduke Joseph. Parliament reassembled in November ; and Mr. Pelham, notwithstanding his former declaration that the Bavarian subsidy should be the last, in laying the treaty before the Commons, adduced the sanction given to that measure as an argument for their complying with the present. It was opposed by persons of all parties ; but the most animated discussion took place in the House of Lords. It was to be expected that the Duke of Bedford, after the violation of that promise which had alone reconciled him to the former subsidy, would not let the present pass un-

¹ Lord Orford : *Mem.* pp. 167–8. ² *Ib.* p. 172 : *Coxe's Pel. Adm.* ii. 190.

censured ; nor would it have been surprising if his opposition A.D. 1752.
to it had been sharpened by the ill-treatment which he had personally received from the two Pelhams. But having, says Lord Orford, been *driven* into contention, not having himself sought it, he did not feel resentment enough for the loss of power, which he had never greatly coveted, to make him eager in returning ill usage ; and, as he thought himself distinguished by the king's esteem, he affected gratitude to the master more than revenge to the ministers.¹ The duchess had exerted herself to fix him in this sentiment ; but his opinions on the treaty were well known : there were some who wished to throw him into decided opposition ; their comments on the subsidy quickened his distaste to it ; and, under the promise of allies in the attack, he, on the 28th of January, 1752, entered into the debate upon it with all that ardour and impetuosity for which he was proverbial. After an apology for questioning a measure instituted by a sovereign whom he for seven years had served, to be misrepresented to whom would be the most sensible misfortune that could befall him, he avowed that he could neither in conscience acquiesce, nor be content with silently opposing subsidiary treaties in a time of peace, as they were alike dangerous, impolitic, and unpopular. He then came to the particular treaty before them ; and, after enlarging on the indignity of the preamble, which represented them as suppliants to the inconsiderable King of Poland, who, on various accounts, was incapable of serving them, he criticised it, article by article, in so luminous a method, with so copious a variety of matter, and such valid arguments, ranged now against the terms and time, and now against the object, its incompetence to gain the end designed abroad, its pressure on the sources of prosperity at home,

¹ Memoires, p. 210.

A.D. 1752. and mastered his own temper with such perfect coolness as exhibited him altogether under a new light, and caused him to be regarded as a very formidable speaker.¹ Before concluding with the motion for an address which should embody these and other sentiments, he darted a few bright and piercing shafts of satire against the secret conduct of the two brothers — the flattery which the one had paid to the king's German passions, and the ease with which the other had stifled his displeasure at a subsidy of which he must certainly have disapproved. If the measure was yielded to by the minister against his will, what extravagant imbecility! but whether this were the case or not, the tenour was the same, and parsimony or profuseness took their turns in this misgovernment, less for the national prosperity or interest, than to gratify personal spleen or private partialities: now, to please some individuals, the navy was to be reduced; and, anon, to sweeten others, Nova Scotia was to be suckled to a surfeit. The glance at Nova Scotia — after the Duke of Newcastle had vainly sought, in a confused and incoherent speech, to exhibit the great wisdom of the measure — called up Lord Halifax. After excusing the subsidies by reference to the example of France, and, after defending the money granted for Nova Scotia, he imprudently said, that of all men he least expected opposition from one who had so lately approved such treaties. This was the accusation for which the duke had waited: he instantly embraced, and skilfully improved it. So far from this being a preventive measure, it was, he said, more likely to excite a war; that he had indeed omitted to explain his own consistency, though he had foreseen the possibility of an attack. To detach Bavaria from France had always been his wish; but not with a view to engage an idle

¹ Lord Orford: *Memoires*.

vote for a king of the Romans, the election of whom he had A.D. 1752. been assured was infallible before this time, and that it had not proved so argued an extreme neglect. But that while he had acted in the ministry, he had disapproved these lavish subsidies, and with such earnest representations against that to Bavaria, that he had received the strongest assurances that it should be the last we would dispense, from one who had both the inclination and the power to prevent it. His proof, he said, was in his pocket—the declaration a solemn promise—the writer of the letter Mr. Pelham. Mr. Pelham was present in the house during the debate; from that hour he never more attended it. But on the day following, when the duke's motion was supported by a similar one in the Commons, he seized, says Lord Orford, the opportunity of venting the anguish he had felt the day before, and of abusing the Duke of Bedford with much bitterness and ability.¹ The uneasiness was infectious: when next the duke appeared at court, the king took no notice of him.

In the debate upon the bill for annexing the forfeited estates in Scotland to the crown, which was introduced into the Lords upon the 10th of March, the duke again shone in a speech that made a yet more powerful impression. The professed object of this measure was to empower the crown to purchase the domains forfeited by the Earl of Perth, Lochiel, and other chieftains in the late rebellion, which were to be then ceded, or rather leased to the public, in order to have colonies, especially of foreign Protestants, settled on them, that might carry into the bosom of the Highlands, civilisation, industry, and attachment to the reigning family. These were views which every statesman would have been glad to accomplish; for if the spirit of clanship could be broken, and,

¹ Memoires.

A.D. 1752. by a new species of tenure, a dependency be created on the crown, it would obviously correct many of the evils that had arisen in the north of Scotland, from a divided allegiance and long habits of lawless depredation. But the seeming impracticability of carrying so great a measure into actual effect—the improbability that men would be induced to settle upon wild and barren tracts, in the midst of fierce, intractable, and haughty clans, who had not forgotten the ancient feud between the Gael and Saxon, and still less their recent foil by the Hanoverian, prevented many from anticipating any advantage from its introduction. In the details of the bill, besides, there were many grave objections raised,—the great power which it would fling into the hands of a few great men, the amount proposed for the purchase, which was merely 100,000*l.*, when the mortgage upon Lord Lovat's estate alone was 30,000*l.*, and various others. The Duke of Bedford, in his speech, of which he has himself left the main outlines,¹ stated, with great prodigality and force of argument, the difficulties that existed of carrying the bill into execution, and even the dangers that would but too probably follow in its train. And this brought him to the exposure of a very singular and unsuspected series of practices in Scotland, the particulars of which had been furnished him by the Duke of Cumberland,—weapons, the keen edge of which struck mainly at the Duke of Argyll, whose power there was uncontrolled, but which necessarily glanced also on the ministry, inflicting wounds that were very sharply felt. He brought forward, from a long list of such, several instances—naming person, circumstance, and place—in which the adherents of the reigning dynasty had been persecuted for their loyalty; and stanch

¹ Bedford Papers. Lord Hardwicke's notes of it, as given in the "Parliamentary Debates," are very imperfect.

Jacobites had been protected, patronised, rewarded with A.D. 1752. offices of emolument and trust,—facts which, he insisted, called for the gravest inquiry before any bill should pass that might invest individuals with more extensive facilities for mischief, and confer on such as already exercised too great an influence, a yet more numerous array of dependents—converting a scheme that ought to be of national advantage into one obvious enormous job. Should the commissioners not act, it was a needless and a useless bill; if they did, what was to encourage them? for their services were to be gratuitous,—what but the power and interest which the enactment would confer? And into what hands, he exclaimed, are you going to trust these formidable enemies? Are you not following the same method which you took with Lord Lovat, to empower other Lord Lovats to raise up more rebellions? He, however, was but a single instance, and the subsidy to him a trifle in the scale; but this was a plan for the most formidable power that had ever at any period been attempted to be established in that country.

“It required,” says Lord Orford, “more art than the chancellor possessed, to efface the impressions made by this speech. To dispute the facts would be admitting that they ought to be examined. He thought the most prudent method was to admit their authenticity; but to endeavour to shew that a previous examination of them was not necessary, either in that place, or before the conclusion of the bill.—Then rose a man on whom all eyes had turned during the debate—the Duke of Argyll: how was every expectation disappointed! As his power was uncontrolled in Scotland, as partialities could only be exercised under his influence, or connived at by his intrigues, as the bill was known to be a sacrifice made to his ascendant, as its practicability had been

A.D. 1753. questioned, who but himself was answerable — for favour to the Jacobites, for tyranny to the loyal, for the necessity, for the utility, or for the feasibility of the regulation in question? He looked down, seemed abashed, spoke low, and but a few words, then contemptuously, and, at last, said nothing to refute the charge of partialities, or in defence of the bill. The Duke of Newcastle, *flustered* by the Duke of Bedford's attack, and confounded by the Duke of Argyll's no defence, seemed to speak only to mark his own confusion, and to enforce what the Duke of Bedford had urged. He said he had taken minutes of the names mentioned by his grace, and hoped such recommendations would be made no more."¹ The bill passed; but several of the obnoxious persons mentioned were removed. Mr. Pelham was enraged beyond measure at the Duke of Argyll; the king charmed with the Duke of Bedford; and both these sensations were heightened by the Duke of Cumberland's giving his father a list of sixty Jacobites, who had been preferred in Scotland since the rebellion.² When an end was put to the session, the speaker, in his speech to the sovereign, launched out into invectives against the mismanagement in Scotland.

In the political effervescence which accompanied those jealousies relative to the education of the heir to the crown, that were naturally excited amongst all who valued the great principle of a limited monarchy, by the tendency of the books surreptitiously put into his hands, the discountenance shewn to, and the consequent resignation of his excellent preceptors, Lord Harcourt and the Bishop of Norwich, the Duke of Bedford took a lively interest, — joining first in the revision and circulation of that anonymous “Memorial,” drawn up by Horace Walpole, purporting to be “signed by

¹ Lord Orford: *Memoires*, pp. 237—9.

² *Ib.* p. 240.

several noblemen and gentlemen of fortune," which, as it A.D. 1753. skilfully embodied the suspicions that were then floating in the public mind upon this subject, struck the ministry with a great panic; and afterwards giving Lord Ravensworth, when he brought before the privy council his charge of Jacobitism against Mr. Stone and Mr. Murray, the opportunity of a full vindication of his conduct, by a parliamentary motion which, if better improved, might perhaps have broken up the administration, and which, as it was, had the effect of throwing some strong lights upon the secret means resorted to for stifling the inquiry,¹ and of incapacitating Mr. Murray from taking that higher office to which it would otherwise have been the Duke of Newcastle's first thought to raise him, in the juncture that so soon ensued.

The debates on the clandestine marriage, and the repeal of the Jews' naturalisation bills, both of which the Duke of Bedford opposed, animated the concluding period of the session of 1753. In March 1754, the king had to lament the death of Mr. Pelham, whose directing influence the Duke of Newcastle laboured to inherit, by gathering up and uniting in his own hand those elements of power which were now in danger of dissolving. But the materials were not very plastic to his purpose. Fox, the secretary at war, had always aspired to be Mr. Pelham's successor; Murray's power of service was injured by the late inquiry; Pitt was unacceptable to the king; the first, therefore, seemed the man most capable of managing the House of Commons. Overtures were made to him through Lord Harrington; and every preliminary had been decided on, when the demon

¹ The memorial in question, and ample particulars of the whole transaction and debate, may be seen in Lord Orford's *Memoires*, vol. i. pp. 262-290.

A.D. 1754. of jealousy took possession of Newcastle; he refused to be bound by the new stipulations; and Fox sent in his refusal of the office, observing to the king, that he should never more believe the man that could so unblushingly deceive him. The duke accordingly looked round for instruments of greater ductility. Taking himself the treasury, with the sole disposal of the secret service-money, he made Mr. Legge his chancellor of the exchequer, Sir Thomas Robinson secretary of state; and, bestowing the place of cofferer on Sir George Littleton, divided him from the Pitt party. He soon reaped the just reward of his selfishness. Fox, alienated by his treachery, and Pitt by his neglect, shewed their resentment by joining in a species of opposition to him during the November sessions of the new parliament,—the one applying himself to control the genius of Murray, the other to expose the incapacity of Robinson. As the session went on, it became obvious that matters could not long remain as they were. The Duke of Newcastle's first thought was to dismiss Pitt from his situation of paymaster; but rash as he could be when his power was at stake, he could not venture at once upon so bold a step; and he accordingly submitted to a courtship with Fox. The king having, therefore, first somewhat softened the latter in a private interview, sent Lord Waldegrave to him, by whose persuasions he was induced to limit his demands to a cabinet counsellor's place, and to agree to an armistice with the minister,—for it could not be called a peace,—whereby the duke was enabled to bring the business of the session to a close in April 1755, when the king went abroad.

The hemisphere meanwhile was dark with other storms. The protraction of the conferences on Nova Scotia, the encroachments which the French had long been making on our settlements in the New World, and their construction of a

vast chain of forts that now nearly environed them, were but A.D. 1755. parts of one great scheme for the extinction of the British power in America. Finding themselves at length suitably prepared, they had instigated the Indians to take up the hatchet, had surprised two English forts on the Ohio, and massacred the garrisons. A rupture with Versailles was, therefore, inevitable. Preparations for war were made on both sides; but those of France with the greater vigour. Her armament being ready to sail for America, Admiral Boscawen was despatched to watch its motions. Its war-like object was unequivocal, and the admiral took two of its vessels. Knowing well what must be the consequences of this step, the British ministry sent out their fleet into the channel with hostile orders, but without any declaration of war: Hawke obeyed them to the letter, and before winter set in, more than three hundred trading vessels were brought into the British ports as prizes.

Such was the lowering aspect of affairs when the king returned to England in September: the prospect of a continental war alarmed him early for his favourite electorate; he sought in consequence to renew his continental alliances, and again to take Hanoverian and Hessian troops into pay. Two other subsidiary treaties concluded, the one with Hesse, and the other with Russia, were the result of this policy.

Previous to the king's departure for Hanover, the Duke of Newcastle had obtained his consent to the strengthening of the ministry. He made various attempts at this by comprising in his plan both Fox and Pitt, who made some efforts to agree; but as neither could brook a superior, he commenced separate overtures in July, through the elder Horace Walpole, with the latter. Mr. Pitt was entering into intimate engagements with the princess dowager and with Mr. Legge, who,

A.D. 1755. having found himself treated absolutely as a cipher, waited only for the moment when he might with most *éclat* abandon his present, as he had done his former patron. Pitt's demand of the seals was approved by Walpole, who had full powers to treat with him; but it proved so little to the liking of the duke, that he refused to complete the arrangement, and Mr. Pitt, with infinite disgust, put a peremptory end to all further conference. The partisans of Leicester House were then applied to; but the princess dowager, in fear of losing the government of her son, for whom the king was projecting an unpalatable marriage, was more disposed to stir up an opposition than to enter into any close connexion with his ministry. The fruit of Pitt's courtesies to her and Legge was soon apparent. When the Duke of Newcastle brought the new treaties to the Treasury for "*our friend Legge*" to sign, he flatly refused compliance—they had not been communicated either to him, or to parliament—how could he dare to sanction what parliament might disapprove? The duke was thunder-struck, and could scarcely believe his senses: entreaty and remonstrance were alike found unavailing; the heart of Legge was marble.

The minister was thus pushed to his last pass: so deeply was he hated for his political treacheries (though well liked in private life for his great good nature and easy forgetfulness of injury), that every one overlooked Mr. Legge's ingratitude in admiration of his spirit. The treaties thus insultingly opposed at the threshold were fallen to a fearful discount. Much as he disliked, and greatly as he feared Mr. Fox, there was now no alternative but to have recourse to him. Fox was not at this time sensible of the duke's exact situation: his demands, therefore, were moderate, and he obtained them—the secretary's seals, with full "power to help or hurt in the House of

Commons.” He required promotion for but few of his own friends, four, or at the utmost five ; though his great object was to constitute such a balance in his favour as might either secure him against all chicanery, or enable him to overthrow the power of the aggressor ; but this he proposed to accomplish by securing the accession of the Bedford party, with the head of which he had cultivated an assiduous friendship ever since the latter had resigned the seals. This inclination was increased in a tenfold degree when he learnt, from Mr. Stone, that the chiefs of the ministry must have necessarily sent in their resignations if he had stood aloof. A.D. 1755.

He accordingly opened a correspondence with the duke through Mr. Rigby.¹ The duke’s friends, some from interest,

¹ Mr. Rigby had early attracted the attention, and conciliated the good opinion of the Prince of Wales. Being invited to the levees at Leicester House, he so far justified this estimation, that the prince gave him an unsolicited promise of appointment as gentleman of his bedchamber on the first vacancy. But a vacancy soon after occurring, which was conferred upon another, Mr. Rigby, who possessed as much personal independence as liveliness of feeling, resented with spirit the disappointment of his expectations. The prince, feeling the justness of the rebuke, sought to correct the error by the offer of a *douceur* as a temporary consideration. The gross nature of the compensation but increased the offence. “ I shall never,” he replied, “ receive pay for a service of which I am not deemed worthy ; but rather think it my duty to retire from a court where honour has, I find, no tie.” With these words he left the prince’s presence, and never after entered Leicester House.

It was shortly after this defection from the prince, that, being thrown into the society of the Duke of Bedford, the latter was pleased with the frankness of his manners, and the sparkling sallies of his conversation. He admitted him to his society with the greater freedom when he found that his accomplishments were accompanied with yet more sterling qualities ; and hence the intercourse soon ripened into confidence and attachment. He became one of the warmest and steadiest of the Duke of Bedford’s political partisans ; and by his lively and satiric wit in social intercourse, his piquant correspondence when apart, and devoted attachment under every phase of public favour or disfavour, enlivened by his friendship the whole of that nobleman’s remaining years. The busy part which he pursued in fashionable society, where his festive talents made him always welcome, and the close

A.D. 1755. some from revenge, and others from real esteem of Mr. Fox, were eager for the junction; but the duke himself, notwithstanding his unaffected regard for that minister, was most averse to it, especially as the very band of concord was to be an approbation of the treaties, which, though framed under very different circumstances from the former, with a war actually commenced, were repugnant to his ideas of sound

attendance which he paid to some, who through every change were intimately acquainted with the interior movements of the court, rendered his correspondence occasionally as serviceable as it was amusing; but it was not until the duke's resignation of the secretary's seals that this had regularly commenced.

There was probably some truth in the circumstance, though the fact came to be grossly perverted and distorted, of his having interfered to protect the Duke of Bedford from a brutal assault, attempted upon him and others at the Lichfield races, by some Jacobites, to whom he was obnoxious from his zealous duty to the House of Hanover. It was in 1748, during the national ferment consequent upon the suppression of the rebellion, that the Staffordshire sportsmen who were of the chevalier's party, made their ridiculous display of favour towards his pretensions. "They appeared," says Smollett, "in the highland dress, and their zeal descending to a very extraordinary exhibition of practical ridicule, they hunted with hounds clothed in plaid, a fox dressed in red uniform. Even the females at their assembly, and the gentlemen at the races, affected to wear the chequered stuff by which the prince pretender and his followers had been distinguished; and divers noblemen on the course were insulted as apostates."¹ The attorney-general appears to have commenced a prosecution for the outrage against the parties most actively concerned; but these being of too low a character to excite any other feeling than contempt, it was withdrawn on their pleading guilty to the indictment. "On the 13th of August came on before Mr. Justice Burnet the trial of the information against Tott (a dancing-master), and others, for the insulting and striking the Duke of Bedford and other gentlemen, upon Whittington Heath, at the last Lichfield horse-races, when it was likewise proposed by the counsel for the defendants, that the several rioters in that information, to the number of thirteen, should submit to be found guilty, if the counsel for the crown would consent to withdraw the informations against several other persons concerned in that riot; which was agreed to by the counsel for the crown; and those defendants who were the principal persons concerned in that riot were also convicted by the jury."—*Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xviii. p. 378.

¹ Jones's Smollett, vol. v. 187 *a*.

policy. The overtures which he received, the medium through which they were proposed, and the feelings that induced him to decline them, appear from the following correspondence. A.D. 1755.

MR. FOX TO JOHN, EARL GOWER.

October 14, 1755.

My Lord,—His royal highness the Duke approves, and therefore your lordship will allow of my taking this liberty. I make it my humble request to your lordship, that if in your opinion it is not improper, you would sound the Duke of Bedford, to know whether, if his majesty should send to ask his grace's assistance, to quell the spirit that is rising against the subsidiary treaties entered into for the defence of his electoral dominions, and should express that for this purpose he should think it for his service that his grace should immediately take the privy seal, whether, I say, his grace would receive the message in such manner as his majesty would wish, and come and take the seal accordingly? I need not tell your lordship that I would not propose this, without your knowing that such a message might be procured; and it is as little necessary to say to one of your lordship's rank and understanding, that no such message *must* be procured, till the reception it would meet with is certainly known.

How much the king, the public, and (which is of little consequence) my future situation, is concerned in the event of this matter, will no doubt occur to your lordship; and even the last may, I flatter myself, have some little weight. Should your lordship's answer be such, as I most earnestly wish it may, who would be the proper messenger directly from the king to the Duke of Bedford? I think your lordship, as it would be doing the Duke of Bedford more honour, and perhaps would please the king better than sending it either by the Duke of Grafton, or Lord Waldegrave.

I am, &c. &c.

H. Fox.

EARL GOWER TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London, Oct. 14, 1755, Eleven o'clock.

My dear Lord,—The enclosed letter I have just received from Mr. Fox, and think I cannot possibly give an answer to it without

A.D. 1755. communicating the entire contents to your grace. I take the reason of this letter being sent to me to be, that if your grace does not approve of the terms proposed, you may not be put to the disagreeable necessity of giving a refusal, nor his majesty of receiving it. I must own, I am glad to find that his Grace of Newcastle seems to be entirely out of the present transactions; and that, though his downfall is not immediate, every political step seems to portend it. I intend setting out for Stratton on Thursday, unless your grace's determination upon this measure should make my continuance in London necessary. I am

Your Grace's most obliged and obedient servant,
GOWER.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO EARL GOWER.

Woburn Abbey, Oct. 15, 1755.

My dear Lord,—Your servant has this moment brought me your letter, with an account of what you had heard in relation to my coming again into employment. It gives me great concern that I cannot at present be of any utility to his majesty in this critical situation of affairs, not only as I have ever determined, since my resigning the seals, upon no account to enter into public business whilst the Duke of Newcastle should continue at the head of affairs; but also as the affair of these late subsidiary treaties (of which I know no more than what the Dutch gazettes inform me), seems to me to be calculated more to bring on a war upon the continent of Europe, than for the sole defence of his majesty's electoral dominions, which doubtless can be in no imminent danger from any aggressor, as being under the protection and part of the Roman Empire: besides the necessity this country will be ever under of causing ample satisfaction to be made to his majesty for any losses he or his German subjects may have sustained *en haine*, for what he may have done as king of Great Britain. I hope you will be convinced that what I now do, does not proceed either from want of duty to his majesty, or from any dislike to any number of people now employed; my duty to the king will carry me as far as my duty to my country will allow me, to the support of his dominions abroad; but what I owe to myself will not permit

me again to enter into the king's service, whilst the person who A.D. 1755.
has once deceived me is so high, if not at the head of the administration. Let me add one word before I conclude,—that no one can have a more dutiful regard than myself for the great person mentioned in the beginning of the account you sent me, nor a greater desire of obeying his commands, so far as I can consistently with my former actions and my present opinion of the state of things; and I must likewise desire the favour of your lordship to assure the person who wrote to you, that no one can wish him better than myself, and that I am heartily sorry it is not in my power to do what I perceive would be agreeable to him.

I am, &c. &c.

BEDFORD.

The duke's decision was not willingly acquiesced in by his friends. They endeavoured to shake it by representations of the necessity of strengthening the power of Mr. Fox, were it only to effect a change in that system of rendering the interests of England so subservient to the electorate, which the Duke of Newcastle had all along so artfully pursued. The Duke of Bedford was not insensible to the force of these suggestions, but could not overcome his objection to the treaties. His friends renewed their solicitations, but he still refused compliance, till Mr. Fox hit upon the expedient of sending the Duke of Marlborough to bespeak the influence of Lord Fane, whom the Duke of Bedford "esteemed as the honestest man in the world." As the duke had promised to acquaint Lord Fane when any change occurred in either his sentiments or intentions, this nobleman excused himself from obtruding his counsel; yet he consented to state in a letter to the duke his own opinion of the evil consequences that would now result, should parliament refuse its sanction to the treaties; as the French, with the bait of the electorate added to their own subsidies, would, he believed, so certainly increase their power, as in a short time to have the whole

A.D. 1755. empire at their devotion, in which case all opposition to them on the continent would be entirely nugatory.¹ Those who thought with Mr. Pitt and his party that England should restrict her military efforts to the defence of America and a naval war, would have seen no great weight in this argument; but neither the Duke of Bedford nor any others had the wildness to imagine that the king could be repressed in his passion for a continental war, and it had, accordingly its influence with him. He was, nevertheless, desirous of seeing and conversing with Mr. Pitt upon the subject; but this his connexions studiously prevented, lest that inflexible man and eloquent declaimer should confirm him in a jealousy of his consistency, Lord Orford says his honour, which might be thought compromised by any deviation from his conduct in the former sessions, different as the state of affairs then was. Lord Orford states that they wrung tears from him before they could induce compliance. In indulgence of his scruples, the ministry submitted the proposed speech from the throne to his perusal, and softened some expressions in it that seemed to promise too peremptory a defence of Hanover; and he at length consented to his friends' acceptance of the offices proposed to them, but refused any employment for himself. When parliament opened in November, he supported the address; and when the treaties came under discussion, "decently and handsomely excused his approbation of them."²

A somewhat formidable opposition was meanwhile arranged by Mr. Pitt, who, during the debates, put forth all that vigorous and consuming eloquence, lively ridicule, and terrible invective, of which he was so great a master; Legge, Lord Temple, and the other partisans of himself and Leices-

¹ Bedford Papers.

² Lord Orford; *Memoires*.

ter-house, following closely in his wake. The king, resenting A.D. 1756.
their opposition, dismissed the triumvirate from office ; the treaties passed by large majorities ; and during the Christmas recess, the changes in the administration were settled. Mr. Rigby was promoted to the board of trade, Lord Gower intrusted with the privy-seal, and Lord Sandwich, though he received no present appointment, was destined to the dignity of chief-justice in eyre. Mr. Fox would fain have engaged the Duke of Bedford to promise to drop all asperity to the Duke of Newcastle, but this he frankly and absolutely refused.

The year 1756 was a memorable one. The senate resounded with the thunders of an opposition burning at once with resentment and ambition. France, incessantly engaged upon armaments which were thought to be destined for an invasion on our own territory, spread alarm over the nation. The Hessian treaty was put into operation, and the people saw their homes and coasts, instead of being guarded by a native force, placed under the tutelage of foreigners, whom they regarded with mistrust and jealousy. A militia-bill, introduced by George Townshend to obviate this ignominy, after passing the Commons, and being ably supported by the Duke of Bedford, was thrown out by the Lords. A treaty entered into with the King of Prussia separated England from Austria, her long-cherished ally ; who, with Russia and Sweden, joined the league with France, and mustering her Croats and hussars on the frontiers of Silesia, gave secret tokens of intended warfare, which Prussia so instantly interpreted, as to forestall her trumpet ; the fields of Lowositz and defiles of Lalienstein proclaimed his superiority, and the King of Poland became a fugitive and exile.

The Duke of Newcastle, whose indecision in all grave

A.D. 1756. business had passed into a proverb, possessing neither the confidence of the nation nor the good-will of many of his colleagues, was wholly unequal to the crisis that ensued. He continued to treat Mr. Fox rather like an enemy whom he feared, than an assistant by whose counsels his own should be supported; and the expedition which the latter was earnest to despatch in the beginning of March for the safety of Minorca, was unaccountably delayed till the 7th of April. The result was most deplorable; the loss of that island set all England in a flame. This unpopular event confirmed Murray, the solicitor-general, and chief defender of the minister in the Commons, in a resolution which he had lately taken; like a wary mariner, he provided for the coming tempest: implored by Newcastle not to desert his post in parliament, he yet insisted on a promise that had formerly been made him, and accepted in October the office of lord chief-justice and a peerage, leaving the conduct of the House of Commons to be managed as it might.

Destitute of any real power, scarcely permitted to tender an opinion, and involved in the ill success of measures on which he had not been consulted, Mr. Fox found it was time to regard his own security; and on the 15th of October sent by Lord Granville a dutiful letter to the king, in which, after recapitulating some of his subjects of complaint against the Duke of Newcastle, he stated the impossibility of his continuing to act any longer with him, but professed his willingness to act in any post not of the cabinet. The king was very angry; talked of his insatiable ambition, the favours he had granted, and the power with which he had invested him: nor did the indifferent discretion with which Lord Granville managed his share of the measure, in any respect improve the matter. Their conversation ended by the king's sending

back to Mr. Fox, and putting it to his honour and conscience A.D. 1756.
if he could desert his service at that trying time ; but without indicating any departure from his system of governing singly by the Duke of Newcastle.¹ On the 18th, Mr. Fox had an audience. The king was calm, serious, full of anger, but determined not to shew it ; for the chancellor being sent to, did not come to town until the evening, and without him the Duke of Newcastle knew not what either to do or say, but desired the king to keep himself open to any conduct that might be thought advisable.² The next morning Mr. Pitt came to town, whom the chancellor during that and the succeeding day plied with considerable offers. Of all these incidents the Duke of Bedford was instantly apprised, whose letters increased Mr. Fox's desire to consult him, for which purpose he went down to Woburn, where he spent two days.

Mr. Pitt meanwhile had refused in direct terms every offer that was made to induce him to act the part of Ajax with the minister, and to cover this endangered Teucer with the shield of his popularity. He indicated indeed the terms that would satisfy him,—they were made in the closest concert with Mr. Legge and Leicester-house ; but they were far too high, and glanced too clearly at the exclusion of the Duke of Newcastle to be seriously listened to by the chancellor or him. Lord Halifax was next tempted with the secretary's seals, and after him Lord Egmont ; their coolness or impracticability gave a sufficient indication to the watchful bystanders of the minister's desperate position. The Duke of Marlborough already talked triumphantly of his removal or disgrace, and wrote to the Duke of Bedford on the 26th his opinion, that this might now be easily accomplished by a

¹ Bedford Papers. Mr. Rigby to the Duke of Bedford, October 15.

² *Ib.* Mr. Fox to the same, October 19.

A.D. 1756. friendly conjunction between Fox and Pitt, which he imagined no one could bring about so well, and with so much authority as he. The Duke of Bedford willingly undertook the part suggested, and strenuously laboured to bring the rival candidates to a happy understanding with each other. To the same point tended now the king's own efforts, as the Duke of Newcastle finding at length that no one would consent to trust him, declared in form his resolution to resign. The king, upon the 27th, imparted this to Mr. Fox, and bade him try if Mr. Pitt would join with him. He went accordingly the next day to the prince's levee, where he spoke with Mr. Pitt, but found him entirely averse to the proposal, and inclined to use but little ceremony in the communication of his personal repugnance. In this juncture the Duke of Devonshire, upon the 28th, was commissioned by the king to compose a ministry. He went in the first instance to Mr. Pitt, but his demands were much too imperious and exclusive to meet with his approval: on the 30th he was more moderate, but, foreseeing probably that Mr. Fox was to have the offer of the treasury, he still persisted in declaring that he could not act with him as minister; and the Duke of Bedford was accordingly apprised by Mr. Fox that he might possibly soon desire his company in town. The next day he wrote to require it, at a dinner at the King's Head tavern, where he would be met by the Dukes of Devonshire and Marlborough. He obeyed the requisition, and on the 2d of November thus writes to the duchess.

THE DUKE TO THE DUCHESS OF BEDFORD.

Bedford House, November 2, 1756.

When I wrote to you from your sister's, I had no time to add any thing more to that letter, as I was desirous it should come to you this night as early as was possible. I am now just come in

from the play, from Lady Coventry's box, who desires a thousand A.D. 1756.
compliments to you and Caroline. The Duchess of Hamilton was with her, in the height of beauty.

I will now give you as clear and as short a narration as I can, of all I can relate which has passed since I came to town. I found, upon my coming to the King's Head, the Duke of Marlborough and Mr. Fox ; and upon discoursing with the latter, before the Duke of Devonshire came in, I found every thing confirmed which I had before heard of the impracticability of Mr. Pitt, who would not serve with Mr. Fox as a minister, and seemed determined to place himself and family sole governors of every thing. However, as they had not presumption enough to name the first lord of the treasury, of which Mr. Legge was to be a commissioner and chancellor of the exchequer, it was hoped by us then present, that the king, by nominating the Duke of Devonshire first lord, such a control would be laid on Pitt and his friends, by the treasury's continuing in the king's power, that Mr. Fox, though not in a cabinet counsellor's place, would still keep such a weight in the House of Commons as would hinder Pitt and his party from getting the absolute ascendancy over the king himself, and confine them to that proper degree of power they had a right to expect, and in which they might have been useful to the public. When the Duke of Devonshire came in, and we had dined, and Mr. Rigby had retired to your sister's, we began to talk of the business of our meeting ; and after the first assurances of good wishes, each to the other, the Duke of Devonshire gave us an account of all that had passed between him and Mr. Pitt ; and though he condemned his impracticability, and declared his predilection for Mr. Fox, yet he plainly leaned to the coming into their terms, though he absolutely refused coming into the treasury with Mr. Legge. In this unpleasant situation things were last night, when I parted from Mr. Fox at half-past one. He told me he had mentioned to the king my being in town, who seemed very desirous of seeing me. Accordingly I went to court this morning, and immediately after the levee, went into the king's closet, who began in the most gracious manner thanking me for the part I had acted, and lamenting the terrible state of public affairs, and most bitterly exclaiming against Pitt's insolent treatment of him. He hardly gave me time to speak at all, being very

A.D. 1756. eager in discourse the whole time I stayed with him, which was above half an hour. Lord Granville then went in, and carried the king a paper drawn up by himself, which, though short, was replete with good sense, and which tended to make, on the part of his majesty, such offers to Pitt and his family as he cannot reasonably refuse, but such as if he does (which I make no doubt he will), must put him in the wrong in the opinion of every reasonable man, and enable us all to weather the storm of opposition, should they be so rash as to undertake it. I have not time to explain the whole of this now, but will when I see you. Upon the Duke of Devonshire's coming out of the closet, he brought me orders to stay in town, till a meeting could be had to consider of the proposal, which at that instant Lord Granville was communicating to me and Mr. Fox, and which meeting is now fixed for to-morrow night at Devonshire House. I then went to Lady Yarmouth, and afterwards to the duke, who seems much pleased with the state in which things now appear. I believe the Duke of Newcastle and the Chancellor resign on Thursday.

I am quite tired with writing, so must defer the rest till we meet, which I hope will be on Thursday.

Ever unalterably yours, BEDFORD.

P. S. If your brother comes to Woburn time enough to be at Devonshire House to-morrow night, you are desired to send him up. Adieu.

The intervening hours were not spent in inactivity. The efforts of Fox were directed to keep up the spirits of the king, by telling him that he wanted neither expedients nor courage to preserve him from the party that was most distasteful to him. He endeavoured to engage the Duke of Devonshire to accept the treasury, and the Duke of Bedford the lieutenancy of Ireland, whilst he himself took the chancellorship of the exchequer. Mr. Legge would thus be excluded from the latter, Lord Temple from Ireland; and it was hoped that at the proposed meeting, which was to consist of the great lords and commoners, these, upon the exorbitant demands of Mr.

Pitt being made known, might be induced so far to stand A.D. 1756. by the king, as not only to sanction this arrangement, but to join in a general message that the king would not endure the re-admission of Mr. Legge.¹ The Duke of Bedford was, however, by no means prepared to take Ireland : the factions there had risen to a most alarming height, which would necessarily interpose the most serious difficulties to his administration of it, even though the ministry at home were likely to be settled on a steadier basis than he could flatter himself would be the case. The Duke of Devonshire himself, though willing to take the treasury if the above scheme took effect, would do it on no other, and had his own internal fluctuations as to the preference for Fox or Pitt, which prevented him from driving at the mark agreed upon, with any thing like the decision of Mr. Fox and the Duke of Bedford. Under this temperament the plan failed. For, the secret transpiring before the time, either through the sovereign or the Duke of Devonshire, Horace Walpole, who feared that Mr. Fox was precipitating the king and the chief personages upon a measure from which it would be as impossible for them to recede as for Pitt to submit to, and that the most serious evils might ensue from such a rupture, and at such a crisis, sent Mr. Conway to alarm the Duke of Devonshire with his own strong sense of the measure to which he had given his concurrence.² It succeeded : the duke was struck with a panic, caused the intended meeting to be laid aside, and acquainted Fox that he must be excused from the treasury, but without mentioning farther particulars. This announcement greatly disconcerted the latter, as he considered the Duke of Devonshire the only man who could make the late administration and that part of the court

¹ Lord Orford ; *Memoires*, vol. ii. p. 102.

² *Ib.* p. 103.

A D. 1756. which hated him, behave tolerably, and his idea practicable of being chancellor of the exchequer in opposition to Mr. Pitt and Leicester House.¹

Yet he had still some hopes of luring back the Duke of Devonshire, who had made an engagement to see Mr. Pitt upon the morrow, the 4th instant. He wrote pressingly to the Duke of Bedford to permit him to accept, on his behalf, the lieutenancy of Ireland only so far as to carry through the session, promising that it should be upon a plan both honourable and satisfactory; endeavouring to persuade him that in this case he and the Duke of Devonshire would be the most popular men in England, and through his acceptance, and not Devonshire's, he would partake of public favour.² The duke was not to be warped from his opinions by this compliment; yet he went with him to Kensington the next day to countenance his pretensions, in the event of Pitt's having remained inflexible. They waited in the outer room whilst the Duke of Devonshire was with the king; but Pitt had softened during the late prospect of his rival's success; and Devonshire, when he came out, informed them that Pitt had acceded to his wishes, and that he himself had absolutely and without conditions accepted the treasury. Both were struck with surprise at his great versatility, and the Duke of Bedford expostulated warmly with him for his disingenuousness in not having at least acquainted them with his intention. Yet, in the main point, Lord Waldegrave has vindicated him from censure; "for," says he, "he joined Pitt rather than Fox, not from any change of friendship, or partiality in Pitt's favour, but because it was more safe to be united with him who had the nation on his side than with the man who was

¹ Bedford Papers. Mr. Fox to the Duke of Bedford, Nov. 3, 1756.

² *Ib.* Nov. 3, evening.

the most unpopular, a reason which will have its proper A.D. 1756. weight with most ministers.”¹

The point of pre-eminence between Pitt and Fox was thus for the present set at rest. On the 19th of November the Duke of Newcastle and his Pylades, the chancellor, formally resigned ; the great seal was put into commission, and the ministry known under the title of the Duke of Devonshire’s administration, was constituted, in which Mr. Pitt and his chief adherents occupied conspicuous situations. But several of the friends of both the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Fox still remained in office,—which was very shrewdly designed by the latter ; for, however strong his private resentment to the Duke of Newcastle might be, he was conscious that he would have to bear a portion of the brunt of the battle, when the measures of their joint administration came to be inquired into, as was threatened, by the parliament ; and there could be no mode so efficacious for disarming the tempest of its thunder, as by making it in any degree the interest of Pitt to lay the lightnings of his eloquence asleep.

Under this new arrangement Mr. Fox refused to take any office ; and even gave some tokens of going into opposition, from which the Duke of Bedford laboured to dissuade him : for much as he regretted the cast of parts which thus threw his friend out of employment, he was too sensible of the critical position of public affairs, and personally so well satisfied with the overthrow of the Duke of Newcastle’s ascendancy in the closet, as to resolve on giving no obstruction to the ministry ; and, accordingly, on being consulted by Lord Gower, he recommended that nobleman to retain his office. Gratifying as this deportment was to the king and to the Duke of Devonshire, the latter could not think the new ministry complete till the Duke of Bedford was engaged to

¹ Earl Waldegrave’s Memoirs, p. 83.

A.D. 1756. take some situation in it; he therefore sent Mr. Fox to Woburn earnestly to solicit his acceptance of the lieutenancy of Ireland. But if the duke was disinclined to this under the prospect of Mr. Fox's being constituted prime minister, his objections were much more increased now that Mr. Pitt was in power, from whom he expected neither friendly feeling nor cordial co-operation. And hence Mr. Fox returned without accomplishing the object of his wishes. The Duke of Devonshire received the tidings with regret; yet, thinking it not impossible that his objections might be ultimately removed, he communicated to him every step which was taken in regard to Ireland, from a desire that nothing might be done there without his approbation and concurrence.¹ This mark of attention, and the assurance that if he would assent to the proposal, every thing should be made easy to his government, had its influence in preventing him from giving a decided negative. Mr. Fox continued to strengthen the impression by repeated hints of his own wishes; yet it was not till after the session was opened in December, that he could make up his mind to relinquish his opinions, in deference to their views and the desire of his sovereign. Eventually, however, he gave way: in the requisitions which he felt himself called upon to make, for the suitable execution of so important a trust, the king went to the utmost of his wishes; and on the 15th of December he was proclaimed in council lord lieutenant, and received the congratulations of persons of all ranks and parties. The management of the affairs of Ireland was immediately put into his hands; but, from various causes, some of a private, some of a public nature, several months elapsed before he departed to that kingdom.

¹ Duke of Devonshire to the Duke of Bedford, Nov. 18, 1756.

CHAPTER XXIV.

FROM THE DUKE OF BEDFORD'S LIEUTENANCY IN IRELAND TO THE
DEATH OF GEORGE II.

A.D. 1757 — 1761.

Final settlement of the ministry . . . the Duke of Bedford opens the Irish parliament, Oct. 11, 1757 . . . State of parties . . . the Speaker . . . Earl of Kildare . . . Primate . . . Resolutions on the pension-list, Nov. . . . Opposition of the crown officers to the Castle . . . Distracted state of the government . . . Intrigues of Lord George Sackville . . . the primate coalesces with the Ponsonbys . . . demonstrates his power . . . rebuff to his faction in their attack on the secretary's fees . . . he makes overtures of reconciliation . . . Tenacity of Lord Kildare . . . Conciliatory conduct of the lord lieutenant . . . Closing addresses of the parliament, April 29, 1758 . . . Change in the revenue board . . . the duke's spirited reply to Lord Kildare . . . has his interview with the king . . . Courtly behaviour of the primate to him, Aug. 25 . . . he anticipates the French design of an invasion, Aug. 29, 1759 . . . Provides for the security of Ireland . . . Re-opens the Irish parliament, Oct. 16 . . . his message on the projected invasion . . . Public panic . . . Catholic addresses . . . his enlightened policy towards that body . . . Tumultuous intrigues of the French emissaries, Dec. . . . Thurot lands at Carrickfergus, Feb. 1760 . . . is attacked . . . and slain . . . Congratulatory addresses . . . Session closed, May 17 . . . Death of George the Second, Oct. 25, 1760 . . . Dissolution of the Irish parliament.

ALTHOUGH to outward appearance the ministry seemed settled A.D. 1757. by the new arrangements, the inward passions that were yet afloat operated like the heaving of the ocean after a tempest, and permanent tranquillity was only to be attained through a fresh convulsion. The state and policy of parties at this moment was peculiar. There was the Duke of Newcastle, defeated, fiercely menaced by a parliamentary inquiry into the loss of Minorca, and burning, in return, to wreak every possible mischief on the successor to his power. There was

A.D. 1757. Fox, averse both to Newcastle and Pitt, yet bound by common danger to avert the blow aimed at the former, and to affect towards the latter an easy unconcern; whilst Pitt, anxious, on the one hand, to prosecute the charges, was compelled, on the other, by necessary deference to his new allies, to abandon them, and to curb in the impetuosity of the two Townshends, who flew off from him, like sparkling segments, indignant at a coalition in which they were not comprised. There was a British officer upon the *dice* for life, a nation inexorably clamorous for vengeance, a court-martial plying to the temper of the times, yet mingling with their condemnation indications of relenting pity, if not of scrupulous remorse, and shuffling off the responsibility of decision on a king, stern in his own opinion of the case, and impatient of the appeal made to his clemency, yet sensitive to the odium that might attend both mercy to, and execution of, the offender. Underneath the surface of the affair more mysterious springs were believed to be at work, and subterranean fires were seen to smoulder. During the whole of the session, Sir Thomas Robinson significantly remarked, that “the floor of the House of Commons was overspread with gunpowder;” “and covered, besides,” said Charles Townshend, “with a roof of thatch!”¹

When the verdict of the court-martial was first announced, the Duke of Cumberland was earnest to know the Duke of Bedford’s opinion of it. He hesitated not strongly to condemn it, and to array his influence on the side of mercy. After the generous but ineffectual applications of Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt to the sovereign for clemency, Mrs. Osborn, the admiral’s sister, in a tender and pathetic letter,² solicited the intervention of the Duke of Bedford. Already favourably disposed to such a step, and touched to the quick by some

¹ Mr. Rigby to the Duke of Bedford.

² Bedford Papers.

moving allusions which she made to the attainder of his A.D. 1757. ancestor, Lord Russell, he willingly undertook the task, solicited an interview with the king, with a respectful boldness pressed his opinions and entreaties for the life of the victim, was better heard, but unhappily with no better success. On the forlorn hope of a second application to the duke by the same party to present a petition to the king, sensible that the only serviceable channel of a fresh appeal was through the Admiralty, he indicated his sentiments to her in terms of the most compassionate kindness; and in the parliamentary discussions that attended the dilemma of the members of the court-martial, took, with Lord Temple, the part most in consonance with these feelings. With the close of those discussions the last gleam of hope became extinct,—the victim to the nation's fury fell on the 14th of March.

In the debates on the militia bill his course was equally upright. He had strenuously supported it against the friends with whom he usually acted when it was first brought forward in 1756;¹ and still regarding it as the only constitutional array for the defence of a free country, he took the same independent part in its defence when reproduced this session; and after it had passed exerted himself in his own county to carry its provisions into effect, in the face of those popular disturbances which the Tory party had excited by their insidious misrepresentations. In the same decisive spirit he supported George Grenville's bill for introducing greater punctuality into the navy payments to the seamen,—a measure which, notwithstanding its obvious justice, struck out many passions at the time, and was opposed by his friend, Mr. Fox, to a division in the Commons.

Yet when, in June 1757, on the disruption of the new

¹ See his speech in Cobbett's *Parl. Hist.* vol. xv. pp. 719–24.

A.D. 1757. ministry by the dismissal of Pitt and Legge, Mr. Fox was commissioned by the king in his distress, on the failure of other efforts, to essay the formation of a ministry, the Duke of Bedford readily lent him his encouraging support, and was so sanguine in his hopes of rescuing the king from his dilemma, that on the failure of them, he could not avoid, in the impetuosity of his feelings, reproaching Mr. Fox with that delay which had been, he thought, the cause of all his ill success. In a letter expressive of his unaffected attachment and esteem, Mr. Fox acquits himself of the censure, and shews that the Duke of Newcastle's intrigues were the main causes of his failure. The adherents of the latter were, in fact, still so numerous, that no ministry could be consolidated without him. The king was sensible of it, stifled his indignation at Newcastle's late refusals of assistance, and took him back to his counsels, with the party whom he had so lately dismissed; but under this peculiar advantage, that by the coalition which had taken place, an effectual check was placed on his ambition, and a happy cast of offices effected, which, by satisfying all prevailing parties, secured to the sovereign, for the remainder of his life, the best services of each. In this, which was termed Mr. Pitt's administration, the Duke of Newcastle had the treasury, with Mr. Legge for his chancellor of the exchequer; Mr. Fox accepted the paymastership of the forces; Lord Gower was made master of the horse; the Duke of Bedford confirmed in the lieutenancy of Ireland; and being reconciled to the Duke of Newcastle first by Lord Granville's mediation, and afterwards by the cheerful assistance which the Duke of Newcastle uniformly lent to make his government more easy, he prepared himself for his departure to that sphere of action, with Mr. Rigby for his secretary.

The Irish parliament was to open on the 11th of October. A.D. 1757. In the interval between this period and his first appointment, he had been assiduously employed in acquainting himself with the actual state of the kingdom; in providing equipments and camp-equipage for the military force there; in instituting inquiries with the view of carrying reforms into the barrack-board department, where the grossest embezzlement had formerly prevailed; and in softening the rigours of a scarcity bordering on famine, by shipments of corn at his own personal expense, to the amount of 5000*l.*, until a larger grant from the crown, the outlay of which succeeded in lowering the markets and inducing plenty, could be officially obtained.

From the accession of the House of Hanover to the second lieutenancy of the Duke of Dorset, in 1752, which comprised the primacies of Archbishops Boulter and Hoadley, Ireland had been tranquil and submissive in the midst of partial discontents, occasioned now by poverty and now by the scarcity arising from a restrained commerce and depressed agriculture. These discontents the Jacobites first, and after them the Tories, neglected not to cherish, by instilling additional jealousies against the English, as opposed to the Irish or native interest. By degrees, a great part of the Catholic body, smarting as they were under much penal persecution, made common cause with the Protestant malcontents, till the coalition assumed a somewhat formidable aspect. The measures pursued by the first primate to sustain the influence of the crown, increased the demarcation, so that it was always, as he confessed in 1728, in the power of any one to become popular, by setting up, in opposition, for the Irish interest.

The leader, at that period, of the Irish, or, as they termed themselves, the patriot party, was Mr. Boyle, who for many years enjoyed the dignity of Speaker of the Commons. By

A.D. 1757. courtesy to him, the house of commons had been governed without difficulty by successive lords-lieutenant. The Duke of Dorset and his secretary, Lord George Sackville, were the first to deviate from the policy of their predecessors. They had pushed up Dr. Stone to the primacy of Ireland, a man little attentive to his pastoral duties, determined, arrogant; in ambition inordinate, in his passions warm, in resentment to his foes inexorable, but to his friends affable, most hospitable. Those qualities multiplied him enemies; these gathered him a party, which he was indefatigable in enlarging. The speaker, resenting the attempt to govern by this restless ecclesiastic, and provoked yet more by the disdainful bearing of Lord George, threw himself into active opposition. He had able orators for his adherents, Mr. Carter, master of the rolls, Sir Richard Cox, the originator of the linen manufactures, and Mr. Malone, a convert from Catholicism. With them he mustered all his strength, and in 1752 left the government in a small minority. The Irish people, taught to believe that there had been a studied plan to depress, and divert the channel of power from the natives, celebrated the triumph with the most tumultuous rejoicings,—the ladies by balls, the populace by bonfires. The popular position which the speaker occupied as a commoner, the Earl of Kildare took as a peer. A memorial which he personally presented to the king against the Dorset administration and the primate's ascendancy, embodying all the prevalent topics of dissatisfaction, had mainly tended to raise him to this pedestal. By the fresh successes of the patriot faction in the contests with the crown, on their claims to a right in the disposal of their surplus revenue, party rage had risen to the highest pitch of rancour under the primate's sway, who influenced the lord-lieutenant to remove the chief

patriots from their employments, and sought to tincture the English government itself with his own arbitrary spirit;—the whole nation was set on fire by the conflict, and opposition to the Castle began to be reduced to a system. A.D. 1757.

The difficulty of managing these factions was heightened by the periodical absences of the lords-lieutenants. The primate always aspired to be one of the lords justices, and it was now equally dangerous to admit as to reject him. The trouble she had raised at length induced the Duke of Dorset to desire his disgrace; but it was not till 1755, under the lieutenancy of Lord Hartington, afterwards Duke of Devonshire, that the ministry were prepared for so strong a step. Lord Hartington's irresolution at the moment when, by such an act, he might have conciliated both the speaker and Lord Kildare, rendered additional powers necessary. When consented to, all parliamentary opposition was for a season lulled asleep, by the elevation of the speaker to the peerage, under the title of the Earl of Shannon, with a pension of 2000*l.* a-year, and the promotion of other patriots to various lucrative employments. In the midst of this armistice, however, there sprang up a third power, the party of the Earl of Besborough, who had long been engaged in raising an interest independent of both factions, with a view of fixing his son, Mr. John Ponsonby, in the speaker's chair. This design the primate abetted, in the hope of being able to govern the young man, but found out his mistake when Ponsonby was elected. His power and intrigues soon after received a more violent shock, being, by the king's orders, struck from the list of privy-counsellors, and being left out of the vice-regal commission in 1756, when the Duke of Devonshire resigned his lieutenancy; on the occasion of whose departure from Ireland, Lord Chancellor Jocelyn, and the Earls of Besborough and Kildare, were named lords justices.

A.D. 1757. Eager to retrieve his late disgrace, the primate now came over to England, and threw himself into great court to the Duke of Bedford; but as the latter had fixedly resolved to steer with perfect impartiality between the several factions, and had, in fact, made it an absolute condition when he accepted the lieutenancy, that he should be the slave of none of them, he received these advances of intimacy with reserve; in consequence of which the archbishop flew off to a negotiation with Mr. Pitt and his old patron, Lord George Sackville, the result of which was not slow in developing itself.

Such was the state of parties when the Duke of Bedford kissed hands at Kensington, on the occasion of his leaving court. On the 11th of August, accompanied by the duchess, Lady Caroline Russell, and Mr. Rigby, he set forward on his journey to Dublin, and on the 25th of September reached the castle, where he received from the lords justices the sword of state, the compliments of the Irish nobility, and affectionate addresses from the Presbyterians and the Society of Friends. On the 11th of October he opened parliament with the usual solemnities. In his speech, he glanced at the necessity of cultivating internal concord, and of being at all points prepared, should any foreign insult be attempted on the kingdom. Of the Commons he requested the usual supplies, and urged a due consideration to the state of the charter-schools, the promotion of the linen manufactures, and the prevention of that scarcity which had recently threatened Ireland with such terrible calamities. The addresses upon this occasion in reply were varied by a gratifying compliment, the lords expressing their satisfaction at the lieutenancy's being delegated to "the heir and descendant of that great person who paved the way for the late glorious Revolution, laid the foundation of our civil rights and liberties, and cemented it with his blood."¹

¹ Lords' Journals,—Ireland; vol. iv. p. 86.

But these preliminaries past, the animosities of faction A.D. 1757. broke out with all their former fierceness. The primate, ever since the check which he received in England, had deeply meditated on the best means for gathering up the fragments of his power, and making his consequence felt by the new lord lieutenant. He omitted no address to win back the popularity he had lost, which was the less difficult, on account of the greater reproach which was now pursuing the apostate patriots. His great rival, Lord Kildare, had still the more numerous partisans, though fewer than himself and the speaker, if their adherents were united. To this point, therefore, he directed all his efforts; and at the same time secretly inflamed against the Castle the discontented patriots who warred against the government—a few from real attachment to their country, but more because their late demands or power of mischief had been either overlooked or rejected by the former governor. He had shortly the malign satisfaction of seeing one of these aims accomplished. The session was no sooner opened, than the patriots directed their shafts against the new chancellor of the exchequer, Malone, who, as being the *latest* deserter, was the most obnoxious to them; and this skirmish the primate's dexterity soon converted into a general aggression. In the first question upon which Malone divided the house, he had merely a majority of five, an advantage so small as to embolden the opposition to a more violent proceeding. On the presentation of a report from the committee on public accounts, they accordingly voted a series of headstrong resolutions against pensions, absentees, and other grievances requiring redress, which the lord lieutenant was desired to transmit to the throne, in the very words in which they were moved. Now there were some very gross errors in the committee's calculations of the increase of pen-

A.D. 1757. sions, which had formed the basis of the resolutions, and which were known at the time to the members of the opposition.¹ To be required to transmit a wilful misrepresentation of facts was sufficiently objectionable; but the vote, that grants to those who were non-residents was a prejudice and grievance, appeared such an infringement on the rights of the crown, and the censure couched in the rest was so obviously meant to extend beyond the ministers of the king to the king himself, that whilst aware that no subject should presume to place himself between a house of parliament and his sovereign,² his repugnance to the requisition was infinitely increased. He therefore replied to the deputation, that the resolutions were couched in such extraordinary terms, and appeared to aim so high, that he must take time to consider whether he could transmit them; to which answer the house denied the usual courtesy, refusing to enter it upon its journals. His own inclination was to have recommended to the house a reconsideration of their vote—a step that would have been fully warranted by precedent; but on proposing it in council, Mr. Tisdale and Sir Thomas Prendergast, the solicitor and postmaster-general, and other close adherents of the primate, refused to sanction such a course, as derogatory to the dignity of parliament. The Ponsonbys, also, when sounded on the subject, whilst admitting the errors in the basis of the resolutions, were utterly averse to their being referred back; and the speaker refused to exercise the slightest influence with them to soften their asperity. By the infusion of their conjoint jealousies, the Commons affected to construe this hesitation on the transmission of its votes as a determination to prevent the national grievances from being laid before the throne.

¹ Duke of Bedford to the Duke of Newcastle, Nov. 17, 1757.

² Duke of Bedford to Mr. Pitt, Nov. 18, 1757.

Both parties, accordingly, opposed themselves to the pro- A.D. 1757.
cedure of farther business, on the orders of the day for granting supplies, till a more satisfactory answer was returned; and averted it by a motion for adjournment, which was carried against the Castle by a majority of twenty-one; and in this majority, not only were Tisdale and Prendergast included, but various other servants of the crown. The answer given by one of these, who had been preferred in rank the day before, furnishes a striking picture of the dissolution of the bonds of government which then prevailed. Continuing to frequent the assemblies at the Castle, the duke took him aside, alluded to the indecency of his late conduct, and reminded him of the duty which, as a military man, he owed the crown. To this the young man frankly answered, that he had such obligations to the primate and Lord George Sackville, that, whatever might befall him, he would act in all things as they bade him. His honesty unmasked the dissimulation of the primate, who had professed his aversion to disturb the government, and had disavowed all connexions with the speaker. Clearly seeing, from the prevalent treachery and disaffection round him, his present inability to stem the tide of faction, and being assured that farther delay would risk the money-bill altogether, the duke thought it most prudent to forego his own opinion, and on the 15th of November intimated that the resolutions of the house should be forthwith transmitted to the sovereign. The concession satisfied the members: they immediately proceeded to business, and passed the money-bill unanimously the same day.

There was one advantage that resulted to the lord lieutenant from this early conflict of opinion. It disclosed the real ground on which he stood, and the impossibility of carrying on the king's business without such an unequivocal

A.D. 1757. support and countenance from the ministers in England, as by causing all parties to look up to him as the actual viceroy of the monarch, should give him the means of rectifying the disorders which faction had introduced into the very essence and citadel of Irish government,¹ and effectually discourage the attempts of those in authority to foment the feuds of party. Upon these points he lost no time in stating his explicit sentiments to Mr. Pitt, who replied by vague professions of support, and common-place recommendations to prudence and conciliation. With all this official courtesy, there were traces of a connexion with closer and subtler incendiaries. On the tidings of these troubles reaching England, Lord George Sackville is stated by Mr. Fox "to have been pleased beyond measure, and triumphant beyond discretion."² He spurred on the party of the primate to renewed activity, and heartened them by all the private information he could aid them with, to the disadvantage of the duke's authority. In a manly letter to the minister, the latter sought to put a stop to these insidious practices.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND TO MR. SECRETARY PITT.

Sir,—I have as yet had barely time to acknowledge the receipt of your secret despatch of the 26th of last month, by the last packet that sailed from hence, which I did not think a safe conveyance for the matter I now find myself under the necessity of writing to you.

I think myself under the deepest obligations of gratitude to his majesty, for his gracious approbation of my conduct hitherto in carrying on his business here, and for the assurance that his countenance and support "will never be wanting to me in the administration of government in Ireland, in all such proper instances as his majesty shall be first satisfied are best calculated for contributing facility and strength to his affairs, and ease and credit to myself." As it has ever been my constant wish, in every station of life in

¹ Bedford to Pitt; Nov. 17, 1757.

² Fox to Bedford; Nov. 14, 1757.

which I have acted, to prefer the milder method of conciliation and union, to the harsher one of punishment and separation, I shall, with great willingness, undertake the task, however difficult it may be, which his majesty has prescribed to me, of using my utmost endeavours to conciliate and unite those two, at present very disunited parties—I mean the Kildares and Ponsonbys. This is the only step of conciliation that seems to me to be in any degree practicable; and though the difficulties appear to be very great, yet I do not think them absolutely insurmountable. I have already taken every step that I thought likely to conduce to this salutary end, but as yet I have found very little reason to expect much success in my endeavours, which I must chiefly ascribe to the belief of those reports which have been industriously spread about this town, by those of the primate's faction,—that the last despatches I received from you did tie up my hands from taking such measures as I might judge expedient, to bring back his majesty's servants to a due sense of their duty. A.D. 1737.

You see by this, sir, what a gross misrepresentation has been made, by designing men, of those orders which his majesty has been most graciously pleased to give me; which, although they are penned with that spirit of moderation and coolness which his majesty has at all times shewn to all his subjects, preferring, in the first instance, lenity and admonition to rigour and chastisement, do not, however, prevent me from taking such measures as the obstinacy of some might make absolutely necessary for the carrying on the business of government; and I flatter myself I am well founded in this belief, by your again referring me to your despatch of the 18th of November, in which I am directed to transmit to you, for his majesty's information, “the names of such persons, if any such shall occur to me, as shall be most capable and best qualified, from their abilities, credit, and connexions, to strengthen and promote his majesty's service.”

As it is absolutely necessary, to enable me to be of any service to the king in this country, that the secret despatches which are to come from you to me be kept inviolably so, I must most earnestly entreat that the contents of them may not be sent to individuals here, as the present instance shews of what dangerous consequence

A.D. 1757. even the most trivial communication may be productive ; for I can assure you of a certainty, that the messenger who brought me your despatches did bring at the same time a letter from a very considerable person in England to the primate, besides another letter to one in his family ; and it is from this correspondence, I fear, these injurious reports have arisen. That I may not appear to have taken any thing up upon vague reports, I can inform you that Sir Thomas Prendergast has been the person who has propagated them all over this town ; and I must leave it to you to judge, whether even the bare suspicion of my not enjoying the king's entire countenance and support in my administration, is not sufficient to defeat my best endeavours for his majesty's service.

I beg, sir, that what I now write may not be imputed to the least diffidence I have conceived of you ; but I have been long enough about court to know that those of a prying and busy disposition do worm themselves into secrets in a very unaccountable manner ; and the more easily, the more open and ingenuous the person they have to deal with is. I shall trouble you no longer in this *most secret and particular letter* than to assure you, that whatever orders from his majesty you shall transmit me during my stay here, I shall endeavour to execute them with fidelity and punctuality ; and as for my return hither a second time, I must leave that to the wisdom of his majesty, and the judgment of his servants in England, who, I am convinced, can never advise him to entrust the government of this kingdom, in its present factious and unsettled state, to the hands of one who shall not be judged proper to be trusted with that power which can alone enable him to make such reformation, as well in men as things, as appears to be at the present absolutely necessary. I am, &c. &c.

BEDFORD.

Dublin Castle, Dec. 5, 1757.

Whilst the English ministry were considering these representations, with the remedies which the duke proposed for breaking the chief factions, the primate, who, in his retirement at Leixlip, affected strongly to disapprove of the violences of the Commons, gave a few further indications of his

strength and power both of rendering aid and working mis- A.D. 1758.
chief. For the opposition calling in question the powers of the Irish privy council, and Malone sitting silent, Tisdale, with well-assumed loyalty, declared, that *he*, as an officer of the crown, could not passively sit and see such an attack on the prerogative without evincing *his* disapprobation; and, being joined by the rest of the primate's friends, the motion for abridging its powers was rejected by a majority of 100¹. And a precisely similar result attended a division on a preparatory question of repeal or alteration of the act called Poyning's law.² On the other hand, when Lord Kildare, to harass his great enemy, set on foot an inquiry into the conduct of the commissioners of the revenue for the last twenty years, expecting that it would involve many of the Dorset partisans, and was encouraged in it by the Castle,—on the election of a secret committee to conduct it, twenty-eight out of the thirty upon whom the ballot fell, were found to be devoted adherents of the primate and the speaker.³ And having thus wrested into their own hands the management of this state-engine, these, with mingled triumph and resentment, applied for, and obtained enlarged powers, intending to turn them against the Duke of Bedford's treasury. But first, the Opposition resolved to try its ground against Mr. Secretary Rigby, headed, as in the case of the late resolutions, by Mr. Edmond Pery, the same turbulent patriot who had occasioned so much trouble to the Duke of Devonshire's administration.

The secretary's situation was one of profit, but profit derived almost solely from the perquisites of office. He had fees from every new commission in the army; and all the military business of the kingdom passed in a manner through

¹ Commons' Journals, 1757, p. 49.

² *Ib.* p. 45.

³ *Ib.* p. 49.

A.D. 1758. his hands. Mr. Rigby had had small time to derive any advantage from these sources, when the house, in a gust of wrath and rigid patriotism, passed a resolution, that the lord lieutenant's secretary should have no fees for commissions, but be indemnified some other way.¹ It was thought by the opposition a little singular that Malone offered no speech against this proposition; and the excellent temper with which the duke received, and promised to transmit it to England, was yet more of a mystery, as they did not calculate on any thing like his concurrence. The lord lieutenant, however, as appears from his secret correspondence, cordially approved of, and most earnestly supported the proposal,² as promising to put an end to a system that had for many years been looked on as a grievance, and that was fraught in every point of view with just and serious objections.

The ministry assented to his arguments, and ordered the secretary's salary to be 2500*l.* a-year. It was a heavy and instructive blow to the Armagh and patriot factions, who saw by it that they could no longer count on an unqualified support from the minister. They became, in consequence, infinitely more submissive. Hitherto the duke's efforts at conciliation had been abortive; he could not bring the Earl of Kildare to a coalition with the speaker, though aided by the judicious arguments of Mr. Fox (to whom the earl was allied by marriage), and he would not court the primate. But now the primate himself, sagacious of the duke's ascendant influence at court, sent overtures for an accommodation. The duke was in no hurry to accept them, but dexterously availed himself of the offer, to soften the haughtiness and rigour of Kildare. "I found," says he, in a letter that shews the honourable spirit in which he had made this intimation

¹ Commons' Journ. 1758, p. 64. ² Bedford to Newcastle, Jan. 21, 1758.

of the primate's offer, "his lordship—notwithstanding I made A.D. 1758.
use of every argument that occurred to me, founded upon public and private advantage, and upon the great honour he would acquire to himself, by putting an end to party and faction, which had almost ruined all government in this country—very firm, not to say obstinate, in adhering to his former resolutions, of never coming into any terms with the primate; and this to such a degree, that I found all I could say was lost upon him; which forced me to be content with insisting on his taking some time to consider of it, and to consult those grave and serious friends, of whose judgment and integrity, I believe, he has a good opinion. I endeavoured to shew him, that this firmness might prevent me from being of that utility to him, and those of his connexion, of which I might otherwise be capable; and that I feared this obstinacy would be the cause of putting him and his party more into the power of his adversaries than a coalition with them could possibly do (a thing he seemed very apprehensive of), as I myself, whilst in the government, should be the middle man betwixt both parties, and should have it in my power to check any superiority either might attempt to gain on the other, which, if authorised by his majesty, as I made no doubt of being, I did most faithfully promise him to do."¹

Notwithstanding these and similar friendly advices from his more peculiar friends, the Earl of Kildare's strength of party hatred was allowed by him to overpower every other consideration. It had hitherto been a primary object of ambition with both chieftains to have an appointment as one of the lords justices, on the departure of the lord-lieutenant, which, now that the business of parliament had nearly terminated, was fast approaching. Yet when, through the medium

¹ Duke of Bedford to Mr. Pitt, Feb. 13, 1758.

A.D. 1758. of Lord Longford, the Duke of Bedford desired to know whether the earl was willing “to be left in government with the primate, the speaker, and Lord Shannon, on a view of giving him a balance of power, and with an assurance that in all matters of dispute referred to the Duke of Bedford, the latter would, upon his honour, keep the balance with the utmost strictness,—and moreover restore the power of the revenue-board to the crown;”¹ the earl stated the absolute impossibility of his acting with the primate, whilst he professed a readiness to give the duke “all the assistance in his power towards restoring the government of Ireland to all its just rights and dignities;”² affecting to think that he would be more capable of that service by being left out, than he could be by being involved in government with the archbishop.³ The arrangement was in consequence concluded without him; but the sharpness of his hostility was blunted, if he was not entirely disarmed; and the duke’s plan of a conciliation of all parties by a system of strict impartiality, was now so certainly commenced, that on closing the session, he not only received, in an unanimous address from the Commons, encomiums on his prudent, just, and mild administration, but their thanks for his successful endeavours to promote that harmony which was so essential to the sovereign’s service and the general welfare; and assurances that it should be their constant care to perfect, with his assistance, the work which he had happily begun. The early relief which he had administered to the distresses of the kingdom was cited as an affecting proof of his generosity, and the warmest hopes which they had conceived of the effects of his administration, were confessed to be exceeded. The duke in his reply unaffectedly assured the house, that he had nothing

^{1 2 3} Lord Longford’s Minutes, March 6, 1758; Bedford Papers.

more at heart than the real interest of Ireland, which could A.D. 1758.
never, he remarked, be so effectually advanced as by harmony and union ; and, whilst promising the parliament in the usual terms, to represent their dutiful attachment to the sovereign, on his return into the royal presence, he did not fail to state, that he should warmly recommend to his grace and favour those who might distinguish themselves in preserving the peace and happiness of the kingdom.¹ His closing speech was delivered on the 29th of April, after which the lord chancellor declared the parliament prorogued to the 8th of June, which term, by subsequent proclamations, was extended to the 16th of October, 1759.

There was yet one measure which the duke was bent on carrying, before he left the kingdom. For the restoration of the just power of the crown, he judged it indispensable to take the management of the revenue board out of the hands of every faction, and to appoint his own commissioner. His choice fell on Sir Richard Cox, whose personal conduct during the late session had been agreeable to him, and whose nomination at his instance, whilst it would be a fresh proof of his own credit at court, was likely to be pleasing to the Irish people.² The preferment of an Irishman to such a post was a departure from the policy which had been for many years established : but such had been the duke's success in restoring tranquillity to the distracted kingdom, that the king was desirous he should depart with every manifestation of his favour, and cheerfully complied with the proposal.³ To his Sackville colleagues the new commissioner was naturally an object of dislike and jealousy ; but the necessity of sharing their monopoly with a good grace, was so obvious, that we

¹ Commons' Journ. 1758, pp. 111-12-15. ² Mr. Rigby to D. of Newcastle, April 8, 1758.

³ Newcastle to Bedford, April 20, 1758.

A.D. 1753. find the primate shortly acknowledging, that the business of the board continued to be carried on with the most perfect agreement, and that Sir Richard made himself useful and acceptable to those who had at first been most averse to the alteration.¹

It was to be expected, however, that the lord lieutenant should leave behind him in some bosoms the embers of discontent. Having declined to take Lord Kildare's recommendation of one of his friends to a vacancy in the court of appeals, that nobleman took instant fire, and wrote in a high strain to know whether he was to construe this rejection as a method of apprising him that all his future applications were to meet with the same fate.² To this ill-tempered challenge the duke, whilst professing his sincere desire to cultivate his friendship, as he had clearly evinced by some very recent favours conferred, at the earl's desire, upon his friends, spiritedly answered, "that of all men living he would be the most unpleasantly circumstanced, if he should so subject himself to the caprice of any one, as that his refusal to promote a person whom he might not think so proper as another, should be regarded as a renunciation of all further intercourse. Such a conclusion would," he said, "be putting him indeed into such leading-strings, as he had always declared would to him be quite intolerable."³ Afterwards, when the earl began to manifest a more reasonable spirit, he conferred on him the office of the master of the ordnance. By these acts of alternate kindness and rebuke, he studied to curb in the haughty and impetuous temper of the malcontents; and it was doubtless to such acts of independence as this, that he is indebted for the character

¹ Lord Primate to the Duke of Bedford, July 25, 1758.

² Earl of Kildare to the Duke of Bedford, April 21, 1758.

³ Duke of Bedford to the Earl of Kildare, April 22, 1758.

given of his bearing at this period by some, as being “ shy, un- A.D. 1758.
gracious, intractable, ungenerous.”¹ But whenever instances of this nature occurred, or were objected to of him,—and apparent rigour must have been frequently necessary, to correct faction and mortify presumption,—the condescension of the Duchess of Bedford came in to restore satisfaction and good humour. “ She,” we are informed, “ pleased universally ; the Irish were charmed by a woman who seemed to depart from her state in the full exercise of affability.”² Nor were the better qualities of Mr. Rigby without their use in inspiring a more genial mood towards the government, when the first intensity of party heat was cooled into composure. Of the most insinuating good breeding when he wished to be agreeable, and with a heart naturally as good as his generosity was indisputable, he rarely failed to win with his spirited gaiety, even upon those to whom his first impetuosity and roughness had seemed most repulsive. He applied himself to the task of conciliation with a heartiness that savoured strongly of extravagance and whim. The popular leaders saw themselves eclipsed in some of the qualities on which they most prided themselves ; and the festivities of the Castle, during the Duke of Bedford’s administration, from the anacreontic spirit which he frequently threw into them, were lastingly remembered upon that side of the Channel.

¹ Lord Orford’s Memoires, vol. ii. p. 234. ² Ib. Yet so little could Lord Orford restrain the itch of his satiric vein, that he immediately strives to cancel our favourable impression by the sneer, that “ She had all her life been practising the part of a queen ;” and that “ dignity and dissimulation were natural to her.” The impartiality upon which he piques himself so much, consists, we fear, mainly in the shafts which he indiscriminately shoots at all characters and parties. The Duchess of Bedford understood thoroughly the value of court smiles. When she was presented at the court of Versailles to the King and Queen of France, as English Ambassadors, the Duchesse de Choiseul, with the view of putting her entirely at her ease, assured her that their majesties were particularly gracious. She answered, “ *Je le crois parfaitement, madame ; car je viens de jouer ce rôle moi-même.*”

A.D. 1758.

The duke embarked with his family at Dunleary for Park-gate, reached his house in Bloomsbury on the 23d, and the next day had his audience of the king, by whom he was most graciously received. He had now an opportunity of freely explaining his sentiments upon the measures which he had long deemed indispensable for the tranquil government of Ireland, which had already formed the substance of more than one letter to Mr. Pitt, but which some adverse influence in the cabinet had hitherto controlled. He described the angry and discordant state in which he had found the kingdom, and the contrast which it now presented, with all parties settling into good humour, as Lord Kildare, the day preceding his departure, had given him assurances which he had already begun to perform; and Lord Newtoun had come in, with offers of the future support both of himself and the restless patriot Mr. Pery. Thus circumstanced, he trusted that the business of the next session would be carried through with perfect unanimity; but he found many claims of promises given by his predecessors which it was necessary he should have it in his power to fulfil, besides the impartial distribution of such other favours on the well affected as might confirm them in their attachment. Where these should consist of pensions, he proposed to provide for them by a restriction of the lavish expenditure into which the Commons had of late years been beguiled, from the redundancy of money in the Irish treasury. He indicated, at the same time, a few individuals to whom such marks of grace might be appropriately given; recommended for five persons the honour of the peerage; a rise in honour to three others; an addition to the privy council of some whose ambition that distinction would infinitely gratify; and the establishment of a new barrack-board, with the division of the board of revenue into one of customs, and another of excise. As the king had pre-

viously promised his support of, and concurrence with, every A.D. 1758. reasonable proposal which it might be found necessary to make for the advantage of his service, he gave his willing assent to each of these suggestions ; and the duke concluded, by representing the loyalty and zeal to his family which influenced the Protestant nobility and gentry ; and that, although the bulk of the people were Catholics, he felt assured that upon any great emergency numerous well-affected forces might be raised for the marine even amongst them, as he had already signified to Mr. Pitt.

Nothing during the remainder of the year occurred in Ireland to discredit the truth of these conclusions, or to revive the spirit of party and division which he had happily composed. The primate's reinstatement in the commission, and some services scattered amongst his personal friends, had effectually conciliated that prelate. In his letters he apprised the duke, that, to the astonishment of every party, the natures of the people throughout the whole kingdom seemed to have undergone a total change ; so that the admirable effect of his good government — of his temper, justice, and impartiality, were every day to be more clearly seen. Deprecating the former relaxation of authority, he gave assurance of his faithful observance of the promises which he had made, and of his willingness to forfeit every pretension to his grace's good opinion when he deviated from them either in act or word. Some bias towards those with whom he had for so many years confined himself to act, might sometimes possibly still operate, unknown to himself ; but it was his real wish that his grace's favours might flow without restraint from any connexion whatsoever, and be directed into such channels as his own pure judgment and inclination might suggest.¹ It

¹ Lord Primate to the Duke of Bedford, Leixlip, July 25, 1758.

A.D. 1758. was difficult to imagine that the courtly lips which now breathed so much of deference, harmony, and peace, could ever have given voice to the seditious trumpet, the thrilling dissonance of which had so lately set the kingdom in a flame.

The Duke of Bedford took advantage of this interval of peace, and of the diminution which recent deaths had effected in the pension list, to carry into effect two favourite points which the king had in view, and which had been, in fact, referred to the duke before his journey into Ireland, but the inexpediency of which at that time he had judiciously pointed out—the settlement of a provision on Prince Ferdinand for his heroic services in Germany, as well as on the Prince of Hesse Cassel, who, having been expelled from his dominions in the prosecution of the war, seemed justly entitled to a compensation. These intentions he now confidentially communicated to the lords justices, and desired their personal concurrence: Prince Ferdinand was to have 2000*l.* a-year, the hereditary prince 5000*l.* for the lives of himself and of his sons. The answer of the primate would, to a rigid critic, furnish a singular contrast to the clamours raised in the last sessions. He frankly acknowledged “the merits and pretensions of both personages;” said “that the grants were peculiarly free from objection, and ought not, either in decency or justice, to be made the subject of particular complaint.” His own course of duty was obvious; he would both concur in the settlements, and would do all in his power to prevent their being made the subject of injurious comment.¹

Such incidents as these, giving glimpses of the springs of action whence grave events originate, supply serviceable illustrations to the outward aspect which history generally presents to us. Intestine difficulties to the scope of the duke’s ad-

¹ Lord Primate to the Duke of Bedford, Aug. 15, 1758.

ministration seemed now in a great measure removed ; but A.D. 1758. there was in another quarter one other source of inconvenience to which he now addressed his notice.

The vigour with which Mr. Pitt had pushed the war was in the highest degree gratifying to the nation. But the frequent reinforcements of the army that were necessary, had urged him to draw so deeply on the military establishment of Ireland as could not but prove somewhat distasteful to the lord lieutenant, who had seen his best regiments and officers¹ perpetually draughted off for foreign service to an extent that seemed incompatible with the safety of the kingdom. Still farther requisitions of this nature being now demanded, he judged it proper to point out the danger, which he accomplished in a letter, the sagacity of which could not fail of making an impression on the statesman to whom it was addressed.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND TO MR. SECRETARY PITT.

Woburn Abbey, Aug. 29th, 1758.

Sir,—Upon my return to Kensington on Saturday last, Mr. Rigby acquainted me with the conversation you had had with him in relation to a body of troops, which you propose should be sent to secure our late acquired possessions at Senegal, and to make fresh conquests on the French in those parts. Mr. Rigby likewise

¹ Amongst them was Lieut.-Colonel Wolfe, of whose services in carrying into effect the reforms which he designed, he had been most anxious to avail himself. In a farewell letter to the duke, returning his acknowledgments for the particular obligations he had received, and apprising him that the regiment to which he was attached was ordered for foreign service, Wolfe says, with his characteristic heroism and modesty, " I embark with it ; upon what service none of us pretend to guess ; nor ought we to be very solicitous about it, rather desiring to serve well than to know where. If this business did not stand in the way, it would give me the highest satisfaction to endeavour to acquit myself so as to merit your grace's approbation, being quite assured that you would take in good part whatever was well intended, and accept of industry to supply the want of skill."—July 22, 1757.

A.D. 1758. informed me, that you was pleased to add, you was sorry you had missed the opportunity of seeing me when I was at court on Thursday last, that you might then have communicated your thoughts to me on that subject, of pushing with vigour our conquests in Africa, which you believed was not disagreeable to my manner of thinking. Mr. Rigby did, indeed, very prudently answer, that he believed I should not disapprove of the measure, but of the manner of doing it, which, if it was still farther to weaken Ireland, by taking from thence more infantry, from that small body we had there at present, he feared that measure would be very disagreeable to me. As it is of very little consequence what my opinion is about the general measure, I shall confine myself to what relates solely to my own department, viz. whether any body, and if any, what number of infantry, can, consistent with the safety of the kingdom, be spared from it?

In a former letter, which I wrote to you from Dublin, dated January 3, 1758, I had the honour to inform you that I very much feared the taking Colonel Anstruther's regiment from Ireland for the American service would too much weaken that part of the army in which I put my chief trust — I mean the infantry; which, indeed, rather wanted an additional reinforcement than a diminution of its numbers. The same reasons which then induced me to write as I did do still exist; and with this important addition, that the regiment I then contended to keep at home was nevertheless taken away, and no succedaneum found out to remedy the evil. Since that time I fear the state of the infantry is little mended; for though we have recruiting parties from all the regiments in every part of Great Britain, yet we have had but very bad success (except for one battalion of the Royals) either for the number, goodness, or size of the men enlisted.

Though I do not think, in the present situation of affairs, whilst there is so great a fleet at sea, and descents are daily making upon different parts of the French coasts, that there is any fear of an immediate invasion of Ireland; yet, when the season of the year shall render it imprudent to carry on these operations under the protection of a great fleet any longer, it is very possible, under the favour of long nights, for the French to throw over in small craft such a number of troops as may surprise Cork, or other consider-

able seaports on the neighbouring coasts to them; or, which is still A.D. 1758.
more dangerous, land such a body as may be sufficient, in those popish and disaffected counties, to make a place of arms, and transfer the seat of war from their own coasts into the south-west of Ireland, in the wild parts of Munster and Connaught. They may very possibly be provoked to a bold stroke of this nature, by a spirit of retaliation, for the insults and losses they have sustained, and out of a point of honour to be avenged of us, in a like manner in which they have been treated by us. And I think it my duty to represent to the king and his ministers, that I hold it very dangerous by a weakening of our force in Ireland, to tempt them to any enterprise of this nature. That I may not be thought to raise difficulties against any measure his majesty may be pleased to take, upon groundless apprehensions, I must beg your leave, sir, to take up a little more of your time, to evince the reasonableness of what I have asserted.

In the first place, the distance from the coasts of Brittany is so little to the southern parts of Cork, Kerry, and Clare, that it is a very easy matter, when our fleet shall be shut up in the Channel by a long westerly or south-west wind, to throw over a considerable body of infantry, either for a *coup de main*, or to make a lodgement in the country. And in the second place, I will take it upon me to affirm, though it is contrary to the received opinion, that there is no country more capable of subsisting, even during the winter season, a body of foreign infantry, than the province of Munster, which is full of fat cattle, during the best part of the winter, and of potatoe-grounds appended to each cottage, which will entirely answer to the troops instead of bread; and being at that season of the year in the ground, are not by any means to be carried off or destroyed, as magazines of corn may be. I am sorry to be forced to add, that that whole country is so full of disaffected inhabitants, that the enemy would not be in want either of supplies of provision or succours and intelligence of every kind. There is, besides this danger of a foreign enemy, which cannot, I think, be too much guarded against, another very strong consideration with me, which is, the preserving the internal peace of the country, which I am sorry to be obliged to say cannot well be secured without a strong military force; and the number of troops

A.D. 1758. obliged to be constantly kept in Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Limerick, and Galloway, for the security of the Protestant Inhabitants, takes up necessarily such a number of our small pittance, that it is excessively difficult to find sufficient to put into the other garrisons, and to support in the outports and different parts of the country the officers of the revenue. I should inform you, sir, that the whole number of effective men in the infantry amounts upon paper to about seven thousand; and I must submit it to better judgments, whether it can be supposed that that number is more than sufficient for the security of Ireland.

But lest the arguments I have made use of should not have the weight with others which they seem to me to deserve; and as his majesty has directed me to settle with his ministers, whether any, and if any, what force shall be sent from Ireland, I must beg leave still to take up some more of your time, to chalk out what I think may be done, with the least inconvenience, provided it shall be decided to send some forces from Ireland to the coast of Africa. Lord Forbes's regiment consists of two battalions, of six hundred men each; has been raised entirely in Ireland, under the strongest restrictions that could possibly be given, that none but Protestants should be enlisted, and is (as I am informed) a very fine body of men. They are now, I think, pretty near complete, and I believe three or four hundred men might be draughted from them, and the regiment be recruited up before next summer, to its establishment of twelve hundred men. But if (which I hope will not be the case) a body of six hundred men should be required, I think it would be advisable for his majesty to send away the youngest battalion, and to order another regiment of one battalion, and consisting of seven hundred privates, on the footing of other regiments on our establishment, to be raised in order to supply the deficiency occasioned thereby. I should endeavour, in that case, to get as many men as I could raised in Great Britain during the course of the winter, and the residue to be raised in the Protestant counties of Ulster. I have now fully laid before you my opinion relative to the message you sent me by M. Rigby, and I shall endeavour, to the best of my abilities, to carry such orders into execution as his majesty shall be pleased to direct. I am, &c. &c.

BEDFORD.

A.D. 1758.

The minister, after digesting the substance of this communication, appointed a time with Mr. Rigby, and in a long conversation discussed the subject of it. “I think,” says the latter to the duke, “I found, from Mr. Wood’s conversation, that some part of your letter had been thought a little tart by Mr. Pitt; but I saw nothing like it in my discourse to-day with himself. On the contrary, he applauded your grace’s care and foresight for the welfare of Ireland to the greatest degree, and seemed to have imbibed your notion of the probability of the French making some desperate attempt upon Great Britain or Ireland, by way of retaliation for our invasion. And, barring that expression in your letter which intimates a wish that so large a number as six hundred might not be sent, every thing else is complied with, in the manner you have chalked out.

“I then went to Newcastle House, and shewed his grace the copy of your letter. I never saw any body more struck with the abundance of its good sense; and he bade me assure you, that you shall have his most hearty concurrence in whatever you think for the good of Ireland. He told me at parting, he did not know how it was, but that I had quite got him, though I had a great many old sins to wipe off. I told him I fancied they had been magnified and multiplied; to which he answered, he believed they had been bad enough, but since we had known one another, we did very well together.”¹ Lord Orford states, that the Duke of Newcastle “had now been long enough connected with Pitt, to grow once more jealous of him;” and insinuates, that the renewed assiduities which he paid to the lord lieutenant and his secretary were attributable to this feeling.

The transit of a few months threw a striking comment

¹ Mr. Rigby to the Duke of Bedford, Sept. 5, 1758.

A.D. 1759. on the lord-lieutenant's perspicacity. Towards the end of the ensuing April, the ministry received intimations, obscure at first, but gradually clearing into assurance, of an intended invasion on the part of France. Numerous flat-bottomed boats were known to be preparing at Havre; and sixteen ships of the line, well rigged and manned, were mustered in the road of Brest. Subsequent advices shewed that the scheme was more considerable than was at first imagined. A conjoint attempt upon Scotland and England was found to be contemplated; and there was every reason to believe that Ireland was to be comprised in the attack. Admiral Rodney was immediately despatched to look after the former, and Sir Edward Hawke, with his squadron, to keep watch upon the latter. In the frequent deliberations of the privy council that succeeded, the Duke of Bedford vividly set forth the insecurity of Ireland. He declared that the military force there was too small either to resist a descent, or to prevent that island from becoming the seat of war, when the landing was effected. Connaught was now in a disturbed state, from resistance to the exportation of cattle which a recent act of the English parliament had sanctioned; and in part of Clare a spirit of renewed opposition to the government had secretly been infused. Obstructions also had been offered in distant places at the same time to his scheme for the raising of marines; and as the minds of the Protestants were not free from apprehensions of a massacre, whether reasonably or unreasonably mattered little, it was a measure of necessary prudence to have troops in all the districts where the Catholic population predominated.¹ He thought it therefore his duty to suggest the propriety of calling out the population of Ulster,

¹ Memorandum of things to be laid before the Lords at the Earl of Holderness's, May 8, 1759. Bedford Papers.

and of raising fresh regiments for its defence. In the midst A.D. 1759. of the arrangements which he subsequently made, he was surprised to receive from Mr. Pitt an intimation of the royal pleasure, for a draught to be made from each company of foot, to recruit the British corps in Germany. He instantly obeyed the message, but not without strongly signifying his opinion, "that it could not be done without prejudice to the service, in weakening too much an army which he had over and over again been obliged, in his conscience, to represent as too weak to be, even in its present situation, adequate for the preservation of Ireland, should it be invaded by a foreign enemy."¹ The duke's anxiety upon this subject cannot be too particularly illustrated, as great blame is most unjustly insinuated against him by Lord Orford, for the defenceless state and undisciplined array in which he represents the kingdom to have been, when the descent was actually made. The assiduity with which he provided for its security, in the best mode which his insufficient means allowed, is attested in every page of his numerous letters to Mr. Pitt and the lords justices. At the commencement of October he departed with his family for Dublin, where he was met by the great officers of state, and with the usual formalities conducted to the castle.

The Irish parliament met on the 16th of October. In his opening speech, after expressing his confidence in the loyalty and zeal of the two houses for the king's service, the lord lieutenant acquainted them that the expenses incidental to a war waged with so much acrimony by an incensed and powerful enemy, had exceeded the usual amount; but the placing of the kingdom in a proper state of defence, and the inuring of the troops to an aptness for field service on any

¹ Memorandum to Lord Barrington, August 26, 1759.

A.D. 1759. sudden emergency, would be deemed a satisfactory compensation. He had only the usual supplies to solicit, which he had no doubt they would cheerfully furnish, gratifying as the great successes which had attended his majesty's arms must prove to them, who, with his other subjects, enjoyed the blessings of internal peace, whilst so great a part of Europe was involved in the calamities of war; and whilst there existed for himself the most reasonable expectation of being able to secure the prosperity and happiness of the kingdom, by the daily improvement of its commerce and manufactures, and by the union and harmony which now so happily prevailed. The addresses of both houses to the king and the lord lieutenant passed with the utmost unanimity. The Commons promised with all duty to raise the necessary supplies, which they fulfilled by a money-bill on the 19th of November. A weak attempt by Mr. Hely Hutchinson to revive the opposition to this measure rallied only nine; and a motion to recommit the money-bill, but nineteen; and every thing indicated the suppression of that turbulent spirit, which had formerly set at defiance all reason and authority.

The humiliating defeat of the Toulon equipment, which had been drawn into an engagement by Admiral Boscawen, had served only to quicken the resolution of France to break, by a diversion on the English shores, the triumphs which had opened, in all parts of the world, so unfavourable a prospect to her hopes of aggrandisement. Eighteen thousand men, under the command of the Duc d'Aguillon, were accordingly assembled at Vannes, where transports were waiting to receive them; whilst Dunkirk fitted out her little squadron, under the command of Thurot, a dauntless adventurer, whose previous piracies in the German and north seas, as far as the stormy Orcades, had seemed to revive the memory of the old

Norwegian Vi-kings. The knowledge of these continued and A.D. 1759. mighty preparations increased the alarm and vigilance of Mr. Pitt ; and before it was possible for the duke to have reached Ireland, he required to know what progress had been made in increasing the efficiency of the army, as in the event of the French armament's eluding the British squadrons, Ireland would not fail to be one of its first objects.¹ The duke replied, that he could not doubt the zeal of the Irish people in quickly completing the various regiments, if they could but be persuaded that a descent was actually intended. Until that were the case, he greatly feared the possibility of animating them to a more strenuous effort ; and it was a question worthy of consideration, how far it was desirable to raise an immediate alarm, the consequences of which might be most injurious to public credit.² But receiving letters of fresh urgency, all indicating a mistrust that too little attention was paid to the minister's suggestions, the lord lieutenant no longer hesitated, but in an impressive message to the Irish parliament, communicated the substance of his late advices. The immediate result was precisely such as he had anticipated. There was so extraordinary a run upon the banks, that several stopped payment, and public credit was threatened by the shock with total ruin, till the duke engaged with the members of both houses of parliament, the corporation and chief merchants of Dublin, in an association still to receive their notes in payment, which stayed the panic and averted the calamity.

This danger past, the message had its use. It served to rouse the kingdom from its dream of safety ; the most zealous and lively addresses to the throne, of attachment and devotion, were unanimously and instantly agreed to by both houses ;

¹ Mr. Pitt to the Duke of Bedford, October 10, 1759.

² Duke of Bedford to Mr. Pitt, Oct. 19, 1759.

A.D. 1759. and the Catholics themselves, whose very name had hitherto been associated in the eyes of the Irish government with discontent and disaffection, hastened to submit to the lord lieutenant similar assurances of their dutiful obedience. As it was the first time that such a tribute was paid by them to a Protestant viceroy, it may be worth while to consider the circumstances to which it is to be ascribed.

The character of the policy which England had constantly pursued towards the Roman Catholics was too clearly to be gathered from the frightful penal code which, by successive enactments, her legislature had accumulated against that portion of her subjects. In Ireland it had been enforced with a severity and perseverance disgraceful to the very name of British rule. The government system of proscription had been carried into effect by former lords-lieutenant with greater or less lenity, as personal suavity or sternness had predominated; but so little had their general tendency to oppression been mitigated, that we find an Irish earl, as a candidate for a share in the Duke of Bedford's favours, pleading his concurrence with that arbitrary spirit, as his strongest claim to the reward of former governments, and the surest passport to their patronage.

Upon the first offers that had been made to the Duke of Bedford of the vice-royalty of Ireland, he had not scrupled to declare, that were he to accept it, he should not be satisfied to be bounded in his discharge of the office by the narrow maxims of exclusion and intolerance which had hitherto prevailed. Being the first chief governor of that kingdom since the Revolution who had dared openly to profess these favourable sentiments to the Catholic body, it is not surprising that they should early have found their way to the leading members of it. So welcome to them was the avowal, that

within ten days after his acceptance of the lieutenancy, ex- A.D. 1759.
hortations to obedience and tranquillity were read from the altar by the Catholic clergy of Dublin to their flocks, in which they noticed the encouragement that some honourable personages had given them to hope for a mitigation of the penal laws, and invoked the Divine blessing on that generous design.

It was not long before the duke's liberality was called into active exercise. A registry bill, prepared by the Earl of Clanbrassil, under the late lieutenancy, had been introduced into the Irish parliament, which, from its apprehended tenour of severity, had excited lively alarm amongst the Catholics. It had been lost upon that occasion ; but designing to bring it again forward, the earl submitted it to the Duke of Bedford, who prevailed on him to alter those parts of it which were most objectionable, before it should be re-produced ; and, in this more tolerant form, it was submitted to the privy-council at the castle.

Here it met with a strong opposition from several who were unwilling that there should be even a legal recognition of that proscribed and hated sect. The primate urged that it would be repugnant to the British laws ; Sir Thomas Prendergast, that the introduction of such a bill was peculiarly objectionable at a time when almost a religious war was kindled up in Europe. Chief Baron Willes, besides repeating the argument used by the primate, broadly declared his hostility to it, "because it would prove a toleration of that religion which it had been the general policy of England and Ireland to persecute and to depress." The chancellor and the lord chief justice followed on the same side, although in milder terms.¹ The nobler line of argument which the Duke

¹ Bedford Papers ; "Memorandum of what was said by different lords of the council against the Registry Bill, January 19, 1758."

A.D. 1759. of Bedford took was honourable to his judgment and his heart.

“ Since he had been implored by those who saw danger in the slightest change upon the side of lenity, to reflect upon the number of the Catholics, he must,” he said, “ admit that they greatly predominated over the Protestants ; but he would at the same time fearlessly maintain, that if it could be at all consistent with the peace of society, Christianity and good policy alike required that they should be allowed the exercise of their religious duties. It was his settled maxim, that persecution for religious principles only added strength to the sect it was intended to destroy. The truth of this must have been felt by government, which, notwithstanding its rigorous array of penal laws, tacitly connived at the rights of the Catholics, and permitted their observance. But neither had this connivance had the desired effect, in accomplishing the converse of the maxim. For the impossibility of carrying into execution those rigorous laws, framed in direct contravention of it, had naturally emboldened the Catholics to hold them in contempt; and it was in consequence of this derogation of the majesty of the law, that those swarms of regulars came in, which, if danger were the question, were, for obvious reasons, much more likely to prove dangerous to the government than a secular Popish clergy. He, therefore, was inclined to say, let another mode be tried, in closer consonance with the principle, that persecution is not the proper method of putting a stop to religious prejudices.

“ By registering the secular clergy of Ireland, you will do away,” he said, “ with all the evils of connivance. The priests to whom by license you grant the exercise of their religion, on taking the oaths to government, must, in charity, be believed true and loyal subjects ; at all events, they will be then amenable to government, and having, during their

good behaviour, a kind of freehold in their parishes, they will A.D. 1759.
be bound in interest to keep foreign interlopers out, and will be much more responsible than at present for the obedience of their flocks. He was told that it would be establishing Popery by law; but was it not found *de facto* established already? what he desired was to regulate it to a favourable result. Was this a measure so extraordinary? What was the policy of other Protestant states? Holland, Prussia, the king himself in his German dominions, systematically followed the maxims which he inculcated. But, say the impugners of the bill, there being a pretender to the crown, the case of Britain is different from theirs. Undoubtedly it was; and for that very reason they ought to come into the measure; for whilst there was a religious party so strongly, possibly so justly suspected of Jacobitism, it was most incumbent on those who wished well to the present government, to strive by all means to subdue that leaven, which owed its strongest chance of prevalence to the stern severity of the existing laws, and the swarm of foreign clergy that stole in whilst these were in abeyance.

“ These evils would, he thought, be rectified by the projected bill; nor need it seem so startling, for a registry of Catholic priests had been already, for a short time, admitted, without harm: it had dropped at length, in consequence of no provision having been made for the succession upon deaths; in the present instance this could be provided against. There could be but little danger in giving it another trial, when the experience of half a century had demonstrated the inefficacy of the present system, and when every principle of sound policy and Christian forbearance did, as he conceived, recommend the exercise of tolerance and liberality.”¹

¹ Bedford Papers; “ Memorandum of what I said at the council-board on the Registry Bill, January 19, 1758.”

A.D. 1759. Such were the sentiments which the Duke of Bedford threw out before the privy council, and such the policy which he desired to see adopted : but the proposed measure appears to have been strangled in the birth by the intolerance of others, as there are no traces on the journals of either house of the bill's having been reproduced.

The tenders to government, in this hour of peril, of the allegiance of the Irish Catholics, were the first fruits of this enlightened policy. Their address, drawn up by Dr. O'Connor, the celebrated Irish scholar, breathed the most dutiful sentiments of attachment to the throne, of sympathy with the national successes, abhorrence of the meditated attack of France, and desire of being rendered more useful to the community and strengthening to the state than could possibly be the case whilst under the restraint of penal laws ; and it concluded with compliments to their present governor for his wisdom, justice, and moderation. It was numerously signed by a public meeting at Dublin, and presented to the speaker, for him to forward to the lord-lieutenant. The favourable answer which the duke returned in the Dublin Gazette,—conveying his thanks for their professions of attachment to the government, and assurances of its protection whilst they continued in that disposition, were in the highest degree pleasing to them ; and their satisfaction was infinitely enhanced when the speaker, at the duke's desire, sent for the two representatives of the Catholic body to the House of Commons, and having from the chair requested the address to be read, formally assured them of his sense of the favour done him, by being made the medium of serving so respectable a body. The result proved how easy a task it is for a government to attach the affections of its subjects, by simply following those admirable principles which Christianity—THE RULE OF PERFECTION IN POLITICAL

AS IN MORAL WISDOM—so forcibly inculcates. The acceptance of their address was regarded by the Catholics as their first re-admission into the porch of the constitution; and, accordingly, on circulation of the tidings, they poured in addresses to the Castle, from every quarter of the kingdom, in which they expressed the strongest resolution to muster all their energies in defence of their king and country. A.D. 1759.

This conduct of the Catholics, at so critical a juncture, effectually falsified the flattering hopes which had been held out to the court of France by certain of the expatriated Irish in its service, that an invading army would immediately be joined by their discontented brethren of the proscribed religion. Influenced, however, by their suggestions, France had her secret emissaries busily at work in Dublin, endeavouring to stir up tumult and sedition. Rumours of an intended union of the two kingdoms, of which not the slightest trace is to be found in the Duke of Bedford's most secret correspondence with the English ministry, were artfully and most industriously circulated, for the purpose of inflaming the populace to the desired insurrection; under the exasperation of which notion, a prodigious multitude was assembled in the streets of Dublin, on the day after intelligence was received of the French fleet's having sailed from Brest, which committed for a short time the most scandalous excesses. The lord-lieutenant sent for the mayor to quell the riot; but finding that no assistance was to be expected from the civil power, he summoned the privy council to a consultation; and a troop of horse was ordered to scour the streets, with directions not to fire on the misguided people, but to disperse them by intimidation. The movement was successful: and on the next day he received the thanks of both houses of parliament for his prompt and seasonable interposition.

A.D. 1759. A few of the active rioters were brought to justice; but the secret fomenters of it escaped detection.¹

Meanwhile, the lord-lieutenant was indefatigable in concerting further measures for the security of the kingdom; and he had the gratification of finding his assiduity appreciated by both houses of parliament, in the respective addresses which they voted.² Some of the Irish noblemen proffered their assistance in the raising of fresh regiments; but before these could be organised or even formed, the anticipated danger had come and passed away.

The Brest fleet which had been fitted out to cover the armament at Vannes, after setting sail, had been pursued by Hawke, who had given it battle amidst the horrors of a stormy night, with the wind blowing hard on a lee shore; and in an action, whose success formed a brilliant parallel with that of Wolfe at Quebec, defeated, in the person of M. de Conflans, the French admiral, the whole design of the general expedition.

The shame of this defeat was yet unknown to Thurot. Under favour of a midnight haze, he eluded the blockade of Dunkirk; but being driven first to Gottenburgh and Bergen, and beating afterwards backward and forward amongst the wintry Hebrides, it was the middle of February before he made the coast of Ireland. Having in vain attempted a landing near Londonderry, he sailed to Carrickfergus, where

¹ Smollett and others after him have ascribed this sudden outbreak to a spirit of disaffection, occasioned by the fancied unpopularity of the duke's administration; but this is a purely gratuitous assumption. So small, says Lord Orford, was the actual dislike to his government, that when one of the rioters, meeting Lord Tavistock, skimmed away his hat, his comrades exclaimed, that Lord Tavistock had not offended them, and inflicted on the aggressor a most severe castigation of five hundred stripes. He adds, that no doubt now exists of the riot's having been the work of foreign agents.—*Memoires*, vol. ii. p. 405.

² *Lords' Journals*, vol. iv. p. 178, &c.

he disembarked his force. The viceroy's chief preparations A.D. 1760. for defence had been made upon the southern coasts, against which the chief invasion was actually designed. His plan, as we learn from a letter to Mr. Pitt, (who had demanded two more regiments of horse for the army of Prince Ferdinand), was to have fought the enemy before they could possess themselves of Corke, and at the same time, by securing the passages of the rivers with his cavalry, to cut them off from the capital, the safety of which, therefore, he thought that he could guarantee, at least during the winter.¹ Not having the smallest reason to expect a descent upon the north, Carrickfergus was garrisoned only by a few companies, mostly of new-raised men, under the command of Colonel Jennings. Immediately, therefore, on the news of the event, the lord-lieutenant gave orders for assembling the seven nearest regiments of dragoons and infantry, and prepared to place himself at the head of them, thinking it possible that the disembarkation, insignificant as it was, might be only the prelude of a greater.² He despatched also to Captain Elliott, who with three frigates kept the harbour of Kinsale, instant orders to proceed against the invading squadron: but, meanwhile, Thurot had taken possession of Carrickfergus, after a defence as resolute as the circumstances would admit, and after re-victualling his ships by plunder of the town, had again put out to sea, in terror of the advancing troops. He was bearing down the channel near the Isle of Man, when Captain Elliott, at four o'clock on the morning of the 28th, obtained sight of his vessels, and gave chase. He came up with them at nine o'clock, and in a few minutes began the engagement.

¹ "Considerations offered to Mr. Pitt concerning the taking from Ireland two more regiments of horse." Feb. 11, 1760.

² Duke of Bedford to Mr. Pitt. Feb. 23, 1760.

A.D. 1760. The battle was fought out by Thurot with the most reckless intrepidity, until the hold of his ship was nearly filled with water, and her deck was covered with the slain. At the end of an hour and a half he fell by a mortal wound; his frigates struck their colours. With the loss of this last fragment of her mighty armament terminated the buoyant hopes of France, and the lively alarms of England.

A last attempt to throw discredit on the vigour of the Duke of Bedford's government by the remaining section of the opposition, was made before the session closed. By the promptness of his measures during the late descent, the town of Belfast, where property to a very considerable amount in money and linen goods invited the invader, had been saved from pillage; but Carrickfergus had surrendered; the independent pride of the *exclusive* patriots had received a mortal shock; and upon the plea that the landing of the foe might have been absolutely prevented, if the militia in the neighbourhood had had sufficient arms, they raised the question in the House of Commons, and pressed it to a division. The farewell opportunity was tempting to all who had long traded in faction; but the inconsiderable minority which they mustered, proved that, for the present, their "occupation was quite gone." At the conclusion of the session, the Commons declared, in their address, that the many national benefits which had resulted from his grace's just and prudent administration demanded their most grateful acknowledgments, and rendered them unanimous in desiring his return to and long continuance in the government of the kingdom:¹ and the lords with equal zeal offered similar congratulations at the termination of a session, which, they said, must ever be distinguished in the Irish annals for the remarkable firmness

¹ Commons' Journal, vol. vi. p. 230.

which he had shewn in dispelling the threatening prospects A.D. 1760. under which it had commenced ; and for his wise and prudent care in putting them into a capacity of frustrating the daring attack of their implacable and disappointed enemy.¹ In some excellent recommendations in his closing speech to parliament, on the 17th of May, which may well deserve republication here, the duke breathed out his parting wishes for the welfare and prosperity of Ireland. “ The greatest happiness and prosperity which,” he said, “ a free nation can enjoy, is only attainable by a thorough submission to the laws and a veneration for them, which this nation, jointly with Great Britain, ought most peculiarly to have, as the laws by which they are governed have been framed by the joint consent of the whole body of the kingdom. Let me then, in the most earnest manner, recommend to you this undoubted truth, that Ireland will ever flourish in proportion to the due execution of the laws in every part of the kingdom. By this, trade will flourish, manufactures increase and rise to perfection ; agriculture, planting, and every kind of improvement, be carried on to its full extent ; and peace and plenty be established over the whole island. By this, likewise, violence and oppression will cease every where, and riot and tumult be heard of no more.”

In the satisfaction which was generally felt in Ireland at the results of the duke’s government, the ministry at home cordially participated ; and even Mr. Pitt, upon transmitting an official letter signifying the king’s approval of those whom he desired to leave lords justices, accompanied it by a private one congratulating him “ on his approaching return after so successful a conclusion of affairs,” and assuring him “ that he should ever esteem it a real honour to merit in any degree

¹ Lords’ Journals, vol. iv. p. 195.

A.D. 1760. his approbation.”¹ Embarking for England the latter end of May, the duke was honoured at his audience of return with peculiar marks of the king’s grace and condescension. At his instances, the Earl of Kildare was advanced to the dignity of a marquess, Lord Mornington was made an earl, Lord Russborough a viscount, three gentlemen were created barons, and favours dispensed to various other individuals. He continued to superintend the affairs of Ireland till the 31st of March, 1761, when he signified to the lords justices the appointment of Lord Halifax as his successor in the government of Ireland.

On the morning, meanwhile, of October 25th, 1760, George the Second terminated his successful reign; and the Irish parliament was dissolved by proclamation. The general tranquillity that now prevailed in Ireland, and the absence of all angry party heat, furnish the best eulogium on the Duke of Bedford’s administration of that kingdom. “It was a most agreeable surprise to me,” writes the Hon^{ble} Mr. Fortescue, “to find the country so little inflamed or disturbed by the ensuing general election. I really do not believe there will be more than six controverted elections, and very few for either great towns or boroughs; which surprises every body, and is looked on as the consequence of that union established here by your grace amongst our great men, and so strongly recommended by you upon all occasions. I do not find they disagree in any one place, nor is there likely to be one party petition that can divide the government now appointed here by your grace, which is more than the most sanguine friend to this country could have even hoped for, much less have anticipated.”²

¹ Mr. Pitt to the Duke of Bedford, April 19th, 1760.

² Bedford Papers; Dublin, Dec. 2, 1760.

CHAPTER XXV.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE III. TO THE SIGNATURE OF PEACE
AT FONTAINEBLEAU.

A.D. 1760-1763.

Accession of George III., 1760... Lord Bute's early discountenance of the Whigs... Prospects of peace, 1761... Duke of Bedford called to the cabinet... his pacific sentiments... Dictatorial conduct of Mr. Pitt... Negotiations broken off... Retirement of Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple... Duke of Bedford made Privy Seal... moves for the withdrawal of the troops from Germany... Prussian subsidy... Resignation of the Duke of Newcastle... Successes of the British arms... French overtures for peace... British terms... Duke of Bedford undertakes the negotiation... interview with Lord Bute... he departs for Paris, Sept. 6... State of parties as they affected the peace... the Court, and its system of policy... Check upon Lord Bute — the Pitt — Newcastle — Cumberland — and Prussian parties — their respective views and operations... Inflammatory state of the public mind... Character of the foreign ministers — Marques de Grimaldi — Duc de Choiseul — Duke of Bedford's first interview with them... Obstinacy of Grimaldi... Duke of Bedford remonstrates against the curtailment of his full powers... Consequent conduct of Lord Bute — the King — Lord Egremont... Duke of Bedford's personal danger... Conquest of the Havannah... its effect on the respective cabinets... Differences on the equivalent... Duke of Bedford demands Florida and Porto Rico... Correspondence of the French ministers... British ministry strengthened... Ultimatum sent... the king's anxiety for peace... Lord Bute's intrigues... their effect on the Duke of Bedford's influence... he signs Preliminaries... East India Company's desire of a change in the epochs... Spirited conduct of the Duke of Bedford... his firm support of the Portuguese minister... He signs the Definitive Treaty... its reception at court... in parliament.

WHEN George the Third came to the throne, he found the A.D. 1760.
affairs of government directed by an administration strong
from the union of the chief parties in the state, and popular
from the success of almost all its measures. But from the

A.D. 1760. maxims which had been so strenuously inculcated by the princess dowager upon her son, and the influence which Lord Bute had acquired, both with the one and the other, curiosity was busily at work in speculating on the form which it would take under the auspices of a new master. Lord Bute was immediately named of the privy council, and many months were not suffered to elapse without indications of his power, which evince that he was not so inattentive to the means of raising a party and procuring adherents in the new parliament as has been sometimes represented.¹ Immediately after the dissolu-

¹ MR. RIGBY TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

St. James's Place, Dec. 19, 1760.

My dear Lord,—This morning, according to his grace's present custom, I was sent for to Newcastle House. When the business which he had with me was settled, the Duke of Newcastle opened himself very freely, and enlarged very much upon his present situation at court: which, he told me in terms, was such as he would endure but a very short time longer—complained of the very little weight he had in the closet, and of the daily means used to let him have as little in the ensuing parliament,—that the Whigs were given up in many parts of England, a thing impossible for him to submit to, whilst at the head of the treasury. He named three instances to prove this assertion. The first was, the order for the Dock at Plymouth to be permitted to vote as they pleased, to which a private order is annexed, for them all to vote for Steuart. The second was, the turning out Lord Powis from his lieutenancy of Shropshire, to make way for Lord Bath. And the third was, the removing certain persons in South Wales, who have long had the management of elections in that part of the world. I conjecture his grace means Mr. Gwynn, who is now member for Radnor, where Lord Caernarvon is sent down, with pretty large powers; and Sir John Phillips's support in Pembrokeshire, against Sir William Owen. He added, that when he asked an explanation of these and other matters, the constant answer was, the king had ordered it so, which he allowed to be a very sufficient one; but that he hopes to be forgiven, if he first remonstrates and then submits, as long as he thinks it consistent with his honour to do so, but that the time is drawing very near, when he can no longer. That he was to know from Lord Bute upon what terms he was to remain where he is, and a meeting was to be had between them to settle it; but that that meeting had been put off from day to day, and was now deferred *sine die*.

He ended with telling me, that his remaining at court depended upon the behaviour of two persons only, the Dukes of Bedford and Devonshire;

tion, provision was made for the retirement of Lord Holder- A.D. 1760.
nesse, and the secretary's seals were conferred upon the earl ; but his influence was for awhile repressed by the ascendant genius of Mr. Pitt, until the overtures of the belligerents for peace introduced differences of opinion in the cabinet, of which he dexterously took advantage ; and until the proud impatience of restraint which, with more than his usual intractability, characterised the conduct of Mr. Pitt during the progress of the negotiations, freed him from this impetuous and powerful co-rival.

The immense losses and reverses which France had sustained during her five years of warfare, had abased her greatness and deeply mortified her pride. The reduction of Belleisle, whilst the treaty was pending, had convinced her that she was not impassive on her own coasts, and quickened probably her fears, lest the expedition to Martinico, planned in the same daring spirit, should be equally successful. In this state of affairs, several members of the cabinet were clearly of opinion that the time was come at which the sovereign had glanced in his closing speech to parliament, when, after vigorously prosecuting the war, he might be in a condition to stay in Europe the effusion of blood and lavish expenditure of treasure, and secure to his people the blessings of peace, on safe and honourable conditions for himself and his allies.

they had advised him to accept the treasury under the young king ; if they would support him with spirit, he would remain there ; but not as a cipher in the closet. Their graces could never intend that he should be so, when they gave him their advice to accept ; and therefore he thinks he has a right to expect their assistance against his becoming one, when, on his own part, he desires to leave them two only for judges, if he aspires at taking too much upon himself. I take it for granted his grace meant all this should be conveyed to you ; I have done it as well as my memory would permit. Poor Admiral Boscawen is relapsed, and thought to be in the greatest danger. I am ever, my dear Lord, your Grace's most obliged and faithful humble servant,

RICHARD RIGBY.

A.D. 1761. Amongst those who cherished such a sentiment was the Duke of Bedford; who, though he held no office in the ministry since his resignation of the lieutenancy of Ireland, had been summoned to its councils by the king's particular commands. Impressed as a counsellor with the moral responsibilities attached to the continuance of a bloody and now aimless war, and altogether satisfied with the accomplishment of every object for which the war was originally undertaken, he was less dazzled by the glare of past and hope of future conquests than some other statesmen of his time, and deemed it the part of sound policy and wisdom to consolidate these valuable acquisitions by a peace, which, by a happy moderation in the terms of treaty, might be rendered permanently beneficial to the British empire. Having received many recent courtesies from the Earl of Bute, whose inclination to cultivate his friendship had been avowedly increased by the relationship which he claimed with the Duchess of Bedford, his solicitude led him to enforce the opinions which he had thrown out in council, by the fuller exposition of his views on the great question that engaged it, in a letter to that nobleman,¹ which has so far a bearing on his negotiation in

¹ DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE EARL OF BUTE.

Woburn Abbey, July 9, 1761.

My dear Lord,—Your lordship's time was so much taken up yesterday, that I had no opportunity of talking to you on the great question of *war* or *peace*, which I hear is likely to be decided in the beginning of next week. As upon the decision of this question the future happiness of his majesty's reign and the well-being of this country, I think, absolutely depend, give me leave, my dear lord, to take up a little of your time, in giving you my sentiments on this important affair, in which the king's honour and ease are so essentially concerned,—the first of which cannot be carried to a higher pitch, than by granting a firm and permanent peace to Europe; and the other, particularly at this joyful time of his taking a consort to his bed, cannot be too much consulted.

Your lordship will give me leave to ask those who are willing to carry on

the following year, as to prove his honesty of purpose in A.D. 1761. undertaking that difficult, not to say dangerous commission, and his deep and sincere conviction of the advantages to be

the war another year, what advantages they can hope to gain to this country by it? Is there not the greatest probability (and if there could be any thing sure in war, I might say certainty), that his majesty's whole electoral dominions will be swallowed up, by the vast superiority the French have in those parts, long before the next campaign will be finished? Is there any possibility, in the exhausted state of this country, to put the army in those parts on a respectable footing? If these two positions of mine should be uncontroverted, which I am convinced must be the case, what are the advantages which Mr. Pitt thinks will be gained, that will do more than compensate for these losses, for compensate we must? Mr. Pitt tells you, that by the conquest of Belleisle, you are enabled to spread the alarm so thoroughly over the whole coast of France, which is on the ocean, that the people won't be able to sleep quietly in their beds. But can we do more upon the continent of France, after they have had so long a time to guard against us in the material places; such as Bourdeaux, Rochefort, Brest, L'Orient, and St. Malo's? I fear not; especially as it will be impossible to spare any more troops from hence or Ireland, without leaving your own coasts liable to be insulted, even by a handful of men. What then, in our situation, can be expected from our efforts during this summer from Belleisle? Why, possibly the taking another island, or burning a few more miserable villages upon the continent! But Mr. Pitt will say, In the course of this year, even before December, I will take Martinico. To this I reply, it may be you may not; and I rather incline to think we should not succeed in that attempt: I am sure it must be, whether successful or not, the cause of the loss of much blood and treasure. Give me leave to expatiate a little upon the reasons which induce me to think our success there very doubtful.

In the first place, the French have had very sufficient time to throw in there succours of all kinds, and to make preparations to receive us: in the second, the island is not only strong by art, but almost impregnable by nature; to which must be added, the climate makes it impossible for European troops to keep the field, and endure the fatigues of a siege, without infinite loss; and I fear, by what we have seen at Belleisle, the number and expertness of our engineers do not give much hopes of carrying strong places in a short time; and open trenches, in that climate, for a long time, are certain destruction to the soldiers: thirdly, they have in that island a number of free negroes, who, habituated to that climate, fighting *pro aris et focis*, are a dangerous enemy behind entrenchments, especially as they are noted to be excellent marksmen.

These, and many other reasons, induce me to believe our success against Martinico doubtful. But should it be otherwise—will this conquest, which

A.D. 1761. secured to his country, by opening at once “the gates of mercy on mankind.”

Conformably with these intentions, he attended the council

must necessarily cost so many lives of our brave countrymen, and such immense sums of money (and which I suppose the sugar-planters will no more desire should be retained by us than they did in relation to Guadaloupe), be the means of obtaining us a better peace than we can command at present? or induce the French to relinquish a right of fishery, which if they do, must put a final blow to their being any longer a naval power, though possessing a coast in the Channel and in the ocean, extending from Dunkirk to the frontiers of Spain; and in the Mediterranean, from the frontiers of Spain to those of Italy? Indeed, my lord, the endeavouring to drive France entirely out of any naval power, is fighting against nature, and can tend to no one good to this country; but, on the contrary, must excite all the naval powers in Europe to enter into a confederacy against us, as adopting a system,—that, namely, of a monopoly of all naval power,—which would be at least as dangerous to the liberties of Europe as that of Louis XIV. was, which drew almost all Europe upon his back.

This naturally brings me to consider the terms upon which France seems now to be willing to agree with us; which in my opinion are, and I will use my lord president's words, more advantageous to England than any ever concluded with France since King Henry the Fifth's time. May his majesty, I pray to God, avail himself of this opportunity of excelling in glory and magnanimity the most famous of his predecessors, by giving his people a glorious and reasonable peace (which is the only one that can be lasting), and the rest of Europe an instance of his moderation, and a proof to his German subjects of his paternal care over them, in preferring their security and solid advantages to the laurels of farther conquests, which can be gained only by their ruin, and by the blood and treasure of his British subjects.

In the first place, they are willing to relinquish all Canada, as they held it, without any exception of Cape Breton, provided England will permit them to dry their fish on a limited part of the coast of Newfoundland, such as we shall agree to, and under our influence and command. This, for the reasons I have above mentioned, I think ought to be granted them, and without any danger to our trade; as your lordship very justly observed the other day, that as they have ceded their northern colonies, their future trade will be confined chiefly to old France.

I understand, by a letter I have received from the Duke of Newcastle, that they consent to cede Senegal; and Mr. Stanley thinks they will cede Goree. Minorca they agree to yield up; and the affairs in the East Indies (where by the *Uti possidetis* every thing is, as much as can be wished, in our favour) are left to the king's magnanimity.

I think what relates to Dunkirk is the point of the greatest difficulty; for

on the 20th, and as no one besides himself chose to speak his A.D. 1761.
sentiments in contrariety of Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple, his
presence gave great satisfaction to those who thought, that

it is certainly for the interest of England, upon account of its vicinity, to prevent the French from making that place such a harbour as may be capable of giving umbrage in any future war,—from being able to fit out from thence such an embarkation of troops as might alarm the capital or southern coasts of this kingdom. I have never myself been much in apprehension of invasions of England; for, as they cannot bring cavalry over with them in any number, I think our always having a body of cavalry in this kingdom would soon enable us to put an end to any attempt of this nature. But, however, for the satisfaction of the nation, too great security cannot be taken to guard against any future alarms that may arise from this place; and therefore I think it should be tried whether France will not consent to put Dunkirk upon the footing on which it was placed by the last treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. This, I think, would be sufficient to make reasonable people easy; as I do not find that since that time great improvements have been made to that harbour. I very well remember a considerable time after the signing of that peace, whilst I was secretary of state, I sent over there, by his late majesty's command, upon rumours being spread in the city of great works being carrying on at the harbour of Dunkirk, a sea-officer, now a captain in the navy, who assured me there were no works of consequence there carrying on, or that had been begun since the conclusion of the treaty of peace.

I have gone over all the material points which occur to me; and having considered them over and over again with the utmost attention, and having talked this matter over with people of whose judgment I have the best opinion, and having likewise found a general aversion, as well at court as in the town and country, towards carrying on a bloody and expensive war, when the object for which it was begun ceases, and when there can be no prospect of bettering the conditions of peace than what we may now have,—I should think myself inexcusable to my king and country, did I refrain, out of consideration to any one man, to speak my mind as fully as I have now set it down on paper, at the next council at which the great affair may come to be debated; and to declare, that in case it shall be decided, *coûte qui coûte*, to carry on the war, when a peace may be obtained upon such honourable conditions as I have above mentioned, that I wash my hands from all the guilt of the blood that may be spilt, the treasure wasted, and from the unprosperous situation the affairs of this country will I fear be in, from the moment the decision is made, of carrying on the war for another campaign; and I hope his majesty (to whom I will, with all humility, give my reasons for my conduct) will dispense with my further attendance at these meetings, where I can be no longer useful, and to which I have hitherto been called, not in right of office, but through his majesty's gracious opinion of my zeal for his service, and my integrity to the good of my country.

A.D. 1761. if France were sincere in her desire for peace, it was their duty now to facilitate an accommodation.¹ The Duke of Bedford was not prepared to pronounce upon her absolute sincerity ; but, from the language she had yet used, and the propositions she had hitherto submitted, he saw no reason to doubt her disposition ; and he accordingly made the same frank exposition of his thoughts which he had entered into with Lord Bute. On the other hand, Mr. Pitt, taking umbrage at the attempt of France to intermix and to support, along with her own, the demands of Spain,—entirely mistrusting the professions of both courts, and ambitious of fresh conquests, which might compel an unreserved compliance with his terms of peace, insisted, in language breathing far less of pacification than defiance, on requiring some sacrifices which it was not possible for France, even with her impoverished exchequer, to submit to, whilst she had any power left her to ward off the disgrace. He at the same time took so little pains to conciliate the opinions of his colleagues, as at a subsequent council to produce his final answer to the French memorial, not as a document to be deliberated on, but as a decision to be absolutely adopted.² To the surprise, and perhaps the indignation with which the Duke of Bedford

I hope your lordship will excuse the frankness with which I write to you, and impute it to the great regard and honour which I have for you ; and that I think it respectful to give notice of what I intend to say at the next meeting.

I am, with the truest regard, my dear lord, your most faithful humble servant,

BEDFORD.

¹ “ The Duke of Newcastle confessed the dread the whole council was in, lest Mr. Pitt should frown, and that you were the single man who dared to deliver an opinion contrary to his, though agreeable to every other person’s sentiments. Indeed, I believe he spoke truth, when he declared, he envied you that spirit more than your great fortune or abilities. He as much applauded the like conduct of yours, with regard to differing in opinion with Lord Bute, which, he owned, for certain other causes, most members of the cabinet were as shy of doing, as with Mr. Pitt.”—*Mr. Rigby to the Duke of Bedford.*

² Duke of Devonshire to the Duke of Bedford.

received this species of dictation, was added the concern of A.D. 1761. finding Lord Bute more decidedly inclined to co-operate with Mr. Pitt in his proceedings, than he had hoped for. He accordingly declared his resolution of taking no farther part in deliberations upon which there was to be no exercise of private judgment, requested the king to dispense with his attendance, and solemnly disavowed all responsibility in the consequences that would, he feared, result from hurrying on so unceremoniously the rupture with Spain, and reviving the havock and the waste of war. The negotiations after this came to a speedy crisis: the British minister, confident of having the approval of the people, in their present temperament,¹ drew up his Ultimatum. As he had been persuaded by the king, through the Duke of Devonshire, to make some relaxation in the article of the fishery, the sovereign expressed to this nobleman his most earnest desire that the Duke of Bedford would attend the council at which it was to be presented. To an intimation of this wish, the duke replied,

¹ Mr. Rigby, in a letter to the Duke of Bedford, Aug. 27, points out very forcibly the prevalent inclination: "I do not much wonder that your grace did not give your attendance at the last council; but I own I lament it, as the surest symptom of the continuance of this war, and the approach of a fresh one with Spain. Mr. Pitt, it is plain, does govern; and the worst of it is, that he governs not only in the cabinet council, but in the opinions of the people too. I have conversed with some of my neighbours here about peace; which they all wish for, and will tell you they shall be undone if the war continues; but the disorder of the council is epidemical; for they will tell you, in the same breath, that you must keep every thing which you have taken from the French, and have every thing returned to you which you have lost by the war. Depend upon it, my lord, this is the madness of the times, and there is but one cure for it, and that is, a defeat of some one of our projects. Whilst we succeed and make conquests, and bonfires, the value of the capture is no part of the consideration; fresh fuel is added to the delirium, and the fire is kept constantly fanned. For my own part, I am so convinced of the destruction which must follow the continuance of the war, that I should not be sorry to hear that Martinico, or the next windmill which you attack, should get the better of you."

A.D. 1761. that nothing but a special command could induce him to attend again, and even then it would be with extreme reluctance and uneasiness. The king, however, manifested so great an anxiety on the subject, as to direct the same nobleman to desire his attendance as a point essential and necessary to his service ; and to soften this intelligence the duke was apprised, that after much discourse with Lord Bute, he would not differ with them in the next discussion, but yield the opinion he had formerly expressed. But there were probably additional grounds for the invitation. A dinner at Newcastle House, which the duke had attended after the last council, was regarded as a symptom of opposition ; and although the disunion of the administration appeared almost certain, Lord Bute had no desire to precipitate it at so critical a juncture. But little that was satisfactory to the respective parties occurred at this meeting. The secret family compact between France and Spain just signed, of the tenour of which some obscure intelligence was communicated to Mr. Pitt, increased all his previous mistrust ; he rejected the French ultimatum, terminated the negotiation, and required Lord Bristol at Madrid to remonstrate, in the strongest terms, on the late conduct and present apparent policy of Spain ; whilst he prepared to resume the war with a vigour sharpened by resentment. His resolution was to strike a grand blow against the trade, the colonies, and wealth of Spain ; and to begin by intercepting the immense treasure which was coming from the Spanish Indies. He and Lord Temple accordingly delivered in their plan, in writing, to the cabinet ; and proposed the immediate recall of Lord Bristol from Madrid. Unprepared for a step so daring and decisive, which no ascertained intention, much less any overt act, of that punctilious court yet justified, the rest of the council were startled at the pro-

position,—first hesitated, next debated, lastly opposed the A.D. 1761. project. Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple in consequence threw up their offices, and their resignations were formally accepted on the 5th of October.

Deprived thus of Mr. Pitt's co-operation, Lord Bute looked anxiously around for substitutes. He took off the edge of the late minister's dissatisfaction by a pension; he sweetened somewhat towards the Duke of Newcastle; grew more gracious towards the Duke of Devonshire; and applied to the Duke of Bedford for his countenance and support. Lord Egremont was made secretary of state. Lord Melcombe, eager to dispose of his services to every ministry that would employ them, applied for the privy-seal. A more likely competitor existed in Lord Hardwicke; but, after a short period of suspense and hesitation, it was conferred upon the Duke of Bedford on the 25th of November, a few weeks after the opening of parliament.

In thus accepting office, with the legacy of a war to be unavoidably renewed, until, as the king in his opening speech declared, it could be terminated by the equitable conditions of an honourable peace, the Duke of Bedford was mainly influenced by the hope of forwarding so great a result; and to this end, he reserved the right of acting with perfect independence in any conjuncture which might appear to him calculated to affect it. On the 5th of February, therefore, 1762, when the speech from the throne was to be taken into consideration, he opened a debate in the house of lords, by proposing a resolution against any longer carrying on the war in Germany, upon the ground that if the British troops were withdrawn, it would not only ease the nation of a vast expense, but tend the sooner to terminate hostilities, by concentrating the whole power of the empire against France and

A.D. 1762. Spain. In an able speech, he contended that the German war, unjustifiable at first, was become much more so since the Spanish war; that a continental one was never proper for England, unless attended with a grand alliance; but that now we were in a war without allies, for Prussia, not being at war with France, could not virtually be deemed one: success upon the continent could be of little service to us,—peace was not to be obtained by bonfires and illuminations. With a debt increased by seventy millions, it was time to look around, and to withdraw the troops before the step was irretrievable. The objections that might be raised to such a course he combated with equal arguments, and solemnly declared, that as he did, in his conscience, think that they could not possibly carry on the war in Germany, since there was a more fatal want than even that of money—a scarcity of men—he could not sit silent whilst a measure was proposed which he thought destructive to his country, and for which he might, if he refrained from denouncing it, be justly reproached by posterity.¹ The motion, opposed both by Lord Bute and Earl Temple, was negatived without a division; but the duke thought proper to record his opinions by a protest, to which six other peers affixed their signatures. Still, these and similar animadversions in the Commons, together with the exhausted Treasury, had some effect. Lord Bute, before the Easter prorogation, decided on withdrawing the subsidy from Prussia, and on relaxing his military efforts on the continent. A resolution so much at variance with the Duke of Newcastle's predilections, brought to a head all that nobleman's private discontents. He did not wait to consult the Duke of Bedford, who had retired to Bath on the 29th of

¹ Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, vol. xv. p. 1217.

April;¹ but finding his remonstrances disregarded, and A.D. 1762. scorning the pension with which his past services were sought to be requited, impatiently threw up his situation; and Lord Bute, in vaulting into the vacant treasury, grasped at length the full power to which he had aspired. Mr. Grenville succeeded him as secretary of state, and Sir Francis Dashwood became chancellor of the exchequer.

A fresh tide of conquests distinguished the first days of the Earl of Bute's administration. The attack upon Martinico, which Mr. Pitt had planned, notwithstanding the great difficulties of the enterprise, was successful beyond anticipation. It yielded on the 12th of February, and with it fell the rest of the Caribbee Isles, Granada, the Grenadillas, Tobago, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent. The news, received in England on the 21st of March, gave spirit to the preparations which the ministry were making for an armament against the Havannah, the great western rendezvous for the rich galleons of Spain. They were speedily completed. By the 27th of May the fleet designed for its assault was under sail, and the recent capture of several valuable ships gave force to those auguries of hope which attended its departure.

The loss to France of her Leeward Islands, was a blow for which the invasion of Portugal, encouraged with a view of shutting England out from the luxury of her rich vintages, presented but a poor compensation. Spain, too, buoyed up as she had been at the outset by the flattering assurances of France, trembled lest the stroke which had been dealt at the colonies of her ally, should be but a prelude of disaster to

¹ The Duke of Bedford received the tidings with regret: in afterwards announcing his resignation, the Duke of Newcastle apologised for not previously consulting him, but set forth the urgency of the step by a recapitulation of his grievances.—*Bedford Papers*.

A.D. 1762. her own. Under these regrets and apprehensions the two courts opened negotiations for a peace with England through the Comte de Viry and the Bailli de Solar, the Sardinian ministers at London and Versailles.

A correspondence between these two courts in February and March, on the liberation of the Comte d'Etaing, a French prisoner of war, furnished the first opening for these overtures. In April the correspondence was commenced; the exchange of the British and French *projets*, agreement on the basis of the treaty, and specification of the Spanish terms, occupied the two succeeding months.

The Duke of Bedford attended the council, held the latter end of April, at which the general plan of peace was devised; and when the *projet*, drawn up on the principles then agreed to, but with some modifications, had been sent to France, Lord Bute communicated the tenour of it to the Duke of Bedford. He, in his reply, the 4th of May, declared, that although he thought the French ministry would not have agreed to the terms first settled, he questioned much the policy of going at first to the utmost extent of their intended cessions, lest France should fancy them disposed to purchase peace on any terms, from a total inability of carrying on the war,—which he did not conceive to be the case, if they were strictly to confine themselves to hostilities at sea, without involving themselves in the maze of a continental warfare. Upon the whole, however, he should be glad of the peace as it had been chalked out,¹ since he thought that a much longer con-

¹ At a cabinet council, July 26, the *projet* of the Preliminary Articles was thus hastily drawn up:

Art. I. Immediately after the signing the preliminaries, hostilities to cease. II. Cession entire of Canada, &c. with liberty of religion to the Canadians, and liberty to emigrate for the space of eighteen months. III. Liberty of fishery according to the 13th article of the Treaty of Utrecht; the distance

tinuance of the war, however relieved by the lustre of farther A.D. 1762. conquests, was likely to prove fatal to the nation. On the 5th of July the whole preliminary correspondence was submitted to him, and, in the event of the treaty's going forward, the embassy to France was earnestly pressed on his acceptance. Fully sensible of the arts to which the partisans of Mr. Pitt would have recourse, in stigmatising any peace that should fall short of his late impracticable conditions,—a procedure for which there would be every facility in the temper of the nation, already murmuring at Mr. Pitt's retreat, and intoxicated with the long career of victory,—his duty to the crown and sense of the permanent, if unassuming services which he might be the means of rendering to his country, would not permit him to decline the charge. And, although his recent experience in Ireland, and perfect acquaintance with the disposition of some of his present colleagues, led him to fear that he might be thwarted in the great work of reconciliation, the absolute assurances both from the king and the Earl of Bute

they are to keep off the coasts to be regulated in the Def. Treaty. IV. The islets of St. Pierre and Miquelon, without fortifications, with fifty men for the police. They have left out the inspection by a commissary: the words omitted to be inserted. V. Dunkirk, according to the last treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; the *Cunette* to remain. VI. The Mississippi the limit betwixt the two nations, from the confluence of the Ibberville through the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain; the navigation to be free to both nations, and a map to state the limits. VII. Guadaloupe, Mariegalante, La Désirade (to France). VIII. St. Lucia to be ceded to France; the other three neutral Islands, the Grenade, &c. to England. IX. Senegal to England; Goree to France. X. Minorca to England. XI. Evacuation of Hanover, Brunswick, Lippe Buckebourg, &c. XII. Wezel, Gueldres, &c. to be evacuated by the French, and all the troops in their pay, as well as ours, to evacuate the empire, in lieu of the three proposals of France, which cannot be agreed to by us. XIII. The prizes before the war to be left to the king. XIV. Ostend and Nieuport to be quitted by the French. XV. The East Indies. XVI. The prisoners of war; each crown shall pay what has been advanced. XVII. Treaties to be confirmed. XVIII. The Epochs. XIX. Conquests on each part made since the negotiation, to be given up on each side.

A.D. 1762. that, whilst he kept within the tenour of his instructions, he should have their support in any measures he should find himself obliged to take, reconciled him in some degree to the task ; and he accordingly signified his acceptance of the employment.

In an interview with Lord Bute, on the 20th of July, he was apprised that Comte Viry thought the peace was made if they would cede St. Lucia, since they appeared willing to yield up every other disputable point of material consequence ; but that without it they were determined to carry on the war. He said, that Lord Mansfield was, notwithstanding, against that cession, and was gone a long circuit to be out of the way. The three disputed points with Spain might, he thought, be thus disposed of ; the prizes taken before the war be finally adjusted by the British court itself ; her claims for fishery on the coasts of Newfoundland be left on the footing of the treaty of Utrecht, where each party reserved its former rights ; and the English forts on the Spanish Main be destroyed, on their giving sufficient security for our enjoyment of the logwood trade. And upon these and the other terms that have been recapitulated, he seemed very desirous to conclude the peace.¹ As they had met the approval of the king and council, the duke stated that he should make no objection to them ; but he took the liberty of urging that the last Spanish article required a much fuller explanation, as he greatly doubted whether any sufficient security could be provided for the logwood trade, unless the old establishments in Yucatan were kept up ; and that the English never allowed the Mosquitos, or *Indios bravos*, to be under the Spanish dominions.² He indicated also, that any restitution without equivalent, of conquests that might be made during the

^{1 2} Duke of Bedford's Minutes of the Interview, July 20.

negotiation, would be most distasteful to him; and as this A.D. 1762. was a point which had not yet occupied the consideration of the cabinet, he required the most precise instructions how far he was to avail himself of any good success that might attend the expedition to the Havannah.¹ A compensation was, in consequence, agreed to be exacted in the event; and, at his requisition, he was permitted to declare this resolution of his court at his first interview with the French ministers.²

The answers from Versailles being conformable to what the British ministry desired, and the Spanish ambassador there being declared to have full power to treat, the duke was informed that he would be declared minister plenipotentiary on the 1st of September; and was desired to hold himself in readiness to sail from Dover on the 6th, in the yacht which should afterwards bring over the Duc de Nivernois from Calais. He had the satisfaction, on the 2d of August, of seeing his daughter, Lady Caroline Russell, married to George, third Duke of Marlborough;³ and on the day appointed for his embarkation, set sail with his suite, and had his audience at Versailles on the 17th of September, when he delivered his credentials, and made the accustomed compliments. Previous, however, to entering upon the negotiation, a brief sketch of the real position and the private aims of parties in England as they affected the treaty, may be necessary.

The court party, properly so called, was small and weak: the king and Lord Bute stood almost alone. The Cabinet had entered into their desire for peace with different degrees

¹ Duke of Bedford's Minutes of the Interview, Aug. 1. ² *Ib.* Aug. 23.

³ Arms; quarterly, 1 and 4, quarterly, *argent* and *gules*, in the 2 and 3, a fret *or*; over all on a bend *sable*, 3 escallops of the *first*; for SPENCER. Second and third, *sable*, a lion rampant *argent*; on a canton, of the *last*, a cross *gules*; for CHURCHILL.

SPENCER,
quartering
CHURCHILL.



A.D. 1762. of earnestness. The king and his minister had absolute need of it; since peace alone could give the former time and means to reduce the parties that controlled the independence of his closet, which he was so anxious to establish; whilst it was by peace alone that the latter could hope to rally such strength in the approaching session as would sustain him against an opposition that threatened to neutralise all his operations. A part of the system of policy which he had laid down was, to preserve in future the least possible connexion with Germany; and feeling that the duration of his ministry would be bound up with that of his system, he desired not merely a decided, but a permanent peace, which by inducing a reconciliation, and even union of principles with France, might render unnecessary any farther waste of men and treasure, which had so strikingly distinguished the late reign. And it was of the last importance that the peace should not only be permanent, but speedy, in order that either peace or war might be decisively announced to parliament in November, and the budget of the ministry be prepared accordingly. These various reasons had a strong tendency to render Lord Bute throughout easy in his terms with France; but a powerful check was constantly in action against this, from the ferment industriously kept stirring in the nation, and the less pacific views of other members of the cabinet, particularly Lord Egremont, Mr. Grenville, and Lord Mansfield. As regards Spain, he wished also to terminate the war, but not so ardently. The whole cabinet was disgusted with the haughtiness, and annoyed by the intrigues and malice of the Spanish ministers; nor were they proof to the universal eagerness which the nation manifested for the immense profits that were derived from prizes and conquests in the Spanish Indies. From these causes,

and a firm persuasion that their designs there would infallibly succeed, even though the Havannah might not at present fall, Lord Bute, as well as his colleagues, were inflexible upon the Spanish articles, particularly as they were united in regarding them as the points that would justify all their conduct, do honour to their work of peace, reconcile them with the nation, and place them above the criticism and denunciation of their enemies. And in this they were correct; for whilst the tenour of the other articles, so far as they had yet escaped, was made the favourite theme of declamation; the sixth article, which made the Mississippi the limits of the empire in America, and gave them a communication with the Gulf of Mexico, was alone passed over in silence by the formidable parties, who either by impassioned declamations against the minister that had set on foot the treaty, or by demanding higher conditions than those which the ministry required, now mustered all their powers, and strenuously worked against the peace. A.D. 1762.

The Opposition was ranged under four banners: it comprised the parties of Mr. Pitt, the Duke of Newcastle, the Duke of Cumberland, and the King of Prussia. The Duc de Nivernois, in his private letters to the French ministers, gives a clear and animated picture of the motives that actuated them, the aims they cherished, and the weapons they employed. Divided as they were upon other principles and ends, they were all agreed on the necessity, and combined in the grand design of overthrowing the existing ministry.

“Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple,” he says, “wish for war, as a means of destroying the ministry which makes the peace, that their talents, sacred in public opinion, may be had recourse to; and they desire a *long* war, that they may rule the longer. They well know that the king’s real disposition is against them, and that they can only be placed and kept at the head

A.D. 1762. of affairs by the necessity and force of circumstances. Now, as their determination is either to bear rule or to foment trouble, they are attached to every extreme principle that can most embroil affairs abroad, as well as to every factious manœuvre that can most inflame the minds of men at home. They lay down, as the basis of a system indispensable to England, the necessity as well as ease of crushing France and Spain; and the necessity as well as justice of vigorously supporting and protecting the King of Prussia. We must expect to sustain, as it were, an interminable war, if Mr. Pitt returns to power.

“ The Duke of Newcastle’s party deals less in extremes, but it is not less dangerous, nor less hostile to the ministry. He has always counselled peace, and he knows not how with honour to falsify his former conduct. He affects, therefore, to wish only for a *brilliant* peace; he throws difficulties upon all the conditions, publicly discredits those who have accepted them for a basis, professes an extreme attachment to the interests of Prussia, and is one of the barriers which the ministry dare not overpass in reducing the article of the evacuations in Germany: his aim is, to cause the peace to fail, that the administration may be overthrown. They have endeavoured to make him understand, that in manœuvring thus, he works, considering his great age and the credit of Mr. Pitt, for others rather than himself; but he imagines that in case Lord Bute is beaten, and even Mr. Pitt comes into office, they could not avoid giving him some high place of confidence and seeming credit, which is all he wishes, and cannot forego. He is supported by Lord Mansfield, Lord Hardwicke, the Duke of Devonshire, and, as some think, by Lord Halifax. His means of mischief lie in his great riches; the votes which he commands in parliament from the adherents made by his lavish

favours during his long administration, and the ease with which A.D. 1762.
he can apply them in favour of whatever flatters his vanity.

“ The Duke of Cumberland, supported by Mr. Fox, who guides him, has at his beck all the military, who desire a continuance of the war ; he passes for a turbulent and vindictive character, is piqued with the insufficient consequence which he enjoys, and has, it is said, a personal hatred to Lord Bute. It is thought that his party has at least as much share as any other in the scandalous and revolting publications with which the town is every day deluged. The king has spoken to him on the peace, and declared that he much wished it. The prince has not dared not to subscribe to his opinion ; so it is not exactly against peace that his party declaims, but *this particular* peace, and the prevarication of those who conduct it. In *permitting* his nephew to make peace, he reserves to himself the privilege of approving it only in case every satisfaction is offered to the King of Prussia, in whose favour his party is one of the most strenuous declaimers.

“ The King of Prussia’s party, which is nothing by itself, is much at this moment, because it amalgamates with all who are in either open or latent opposition. His ministers have taken easy advantage of the feeling common to all these parties, that Lord Bute, by engaging in a peace so far advanced, must be ruined if it is not concluded, or if the conclusion is not to the national taste. The Prussian ministers, moreover, are indecently hostile to this ministry, and intrigue scandalously against it. The king is much incensed at it, and I know that, without any hesitation, he would drive them from his court ; but he is restricted, both by fear and by the essential clauses of the treaty. In concert with the late Czar, the King of Prussia had prepared every thing to

A.D. 1762. overthrow Lord Bute, by presenting at the former session of parliament a violent memorial against him, in which the king would have been personally compromised, as well as the princess dowager: they hold in their hands the written proofs of these intrigues. This king's resentment is precisely such as might be looked for; but he dares not shew it, as the Prussian cause has become on this very account yet dearer to the enemies of his ministry.

“ These various parties combine also in the means they take to accomplish their common end. The proceedings of all is, to disseminate, by seditious writings and ferocious prints, all that can inspire the nation with defiance, hatred, and contempt of the ministry; repugnance, alienation, and aversion to the work of peace; inclination, passion, and enthusiasm for the continuance of the war. These writings are greedily received by the citizens of London, who are naturally inclined to opposition; and besides, much of the population of this mighty city is composed of those who have an interest in the continuance of hostilities. Such are the merchants and seamen who have enriched themselves by privateers and prizes, army contractors, stock-brokers—all who lend their money and credit to the state—army-officers, and the yet more numerous class of sea-captains, to whom the war in America has been the source of shining fortunes. They all circulate and give their credit to the pamphlets that issue from the opposition; and the populace, (considerable, and even of some influence here), imbibe with transport these philippics, which always comprise, and often make great parade of the cherished ideas of liberty, patriotism, and grandeur of the English people—as well as of the odious images of *the Favourite*—of national interest and honour sacrificed, and of approaching triumph to the chicanery of France

and the pride of Spain. To these topics is generally joined A.D. 1762.
some striking picture of the absolute ease with which England might be raised on the ruins of both by the continuance of war, or at least by a peace befitting her consequence, that might for ever fix that infinite superiority which a *foreign* and prevaricating minister is on the point of giving up. In support of these political declamations come the most injurious personalities, not merely against Lord Bute, but against some who ought to be considered sacred by all parties, and whose honour is every day outraged by a mass of atrocious writings and engravings.

“Such are the offensive arms which they use here against the ministry, and against which the latter cannot, as in other countries, interpose the shield of power or of the police, but only the defence of patience, courage, resignation, and a hope of concluding the peace before the opening of Parliament.”¹

Whilst these obstacles to the successful conclusion of the peace were mustered upon one side of the channel, there were equal difficulties on the other, though of a different character and a more confined nature. The personages with whom the Duke of Bedford had to conduct his negotiation were the Duc de Choiseul, prime minister of France, the Comte de Choiseul, his cousin, and Geronimo, Marques Grimaldi, the Spanish ambassador at Paris, a Genoese by birth, and, earlier in life, known under the designation of “the handsome Abbot.” To the former, peace was almost as necessary as to Lord Bute; for though he enjoyed the entire confidence of Louis XV., he had potent enemies, and the rupture of a treaty so necessary as the present to the treasury and the repose of France, would have been fatal to his credit and existence as a minister. He had great generosity of

¹ Duc de Nivernois au Comte de Choiseul; Londres, 24 Sept. 1762.

A.D. 1762. character, much penetration, and skill to profit by events as they occurred. Exercising uniformly great address, he conducted all his conversations with the Duke of Bedford in that spirit of unreserve and candour which he judged most in unison with the natural frankness of his disposition: but as he well knew how entirely Lord Bute was bent on having the peace promptly finished, and as he anticipated a failure in the Havannah expedition, he hoped, by proper management of the English ministry, to obtain superior terms; and instructed the Duc de Nivernois to lay out his demands accordingly, in variation of the articles. But the greatest peril to the treaty was to be anticipated from the hostility and obstinacy of Grimaldi, who, to great disaffection towards England, joined an infinite jealousy of the dignity of Spain, and an overbearing and impracticable temper but little calculated to facilitate the adjustment of disputes; so that if the French minister, who had been the chief agent in effecting the Family Compact, had not possessed an influence at Madrid which gave him ultimately a compulsion over this intractable envoy, the whole negotiation would have been unquestionably marred.

The Duke of Bedford's first interview was with the Comte de Choiseul, with whom, on the 15th of September, he went over all but the 6th, 12th, and 18th articles, with a satisfaction which led him to hope that he might enter, that same evening, upon business with the ministers of both courts; but, although the French ministers had intimated their consent to the important article on the Mississippi and Mobile, they had not yet ventured to mention it to Grimaldi, who, upon the bare rumour of it, had immediately "*monté sur ses grands chevaux*."¹ The difficulties that resulted from this

¹ Duke of Bedford to Lord Egremont; Sept. 15, 1762.

want of preparation are painted in the following able despatch, A.D. 1762. which exhibits in a lively light Grimaldi's pertinacity.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO LORD EGREMONT.

Paris, Sept. 19th, 1762.

My Lord,—After the long despatch of the 15th inst. which your lordship will receive by the same messenger that brings you this, you will doubtless be surprised at the receipt of another, of no less a volume; but as I am to give you a detail of above a nine hours' conversation on the Thursday, and of all that passed in the two following days, the fullest of business I ever passed in my life, or I hope ever shall again, I will, without farther preface, enter upon the matter, assuring you that I will shorten the work as much as I can, consistent with the perspicuity I am obliged to observe, to lay before his majesty a true state of the very important business with which I am intrusted. I went on Thursday, according to appointment, to the Duc de Choiseul, whom I found alone, and immediately entered upon the Spanish business, the Count not being to come. I began first on the affairs of Portugal, which, the duke owned to me, he thought his majesty had a right to intermeddle in; and assured me that his most Christian majesty would be able to remove all difficulties on that head, provided we were ready to give satisfaction to Spain on the other points. This at first had an agreeable aspect, as I knew but of three other points about which Spain had ever made complaint; and as I knew the king was determined to give them satisfaction on the only material one, I judged the two others could be adjusted without difficulty. But this pleasing prospect soon vanished, when I found they had not yet ventured to own to the Marques de Grimaldi all that had passed betwixt our two courts in relation to the Mobile, the boundary betwixt Canada and Louisiana, and the navigation down the Mississippi to the sea. He even begged of me not to mention a word of this to M^o Grimaldi, till they had again talked to him about it; and he expressed the difficulties he foresaw, which M^o Grimaldi (who doubtless is very ill-intentioned) would raise on the part of his court, which dreaded to see the English in the Gulf of Mexico. This necessarily brought on the point of the naviga-

A.D. 1762. tion, which I insisted upon should be granted down the Mississippi itself to the sea, which I see they will make no difficulty of ceding to us, the navigation through the lakes being equally obnoxious as the other to the court of Spain. I shall, before I finish this letter, explain to your lordship, at its proper period, how they mean to effect it. I told him I thought it needless to enter into farther particulars about the Spanish affairs till this point was settled, and till I could see M^o Grimaldi, who alone could confirm to me the necessary security about Portugal, as well in Europe as the West Indies, which I was absolutely instructed to declare the *sine quâ non* of my farther proceeding in the negotiation. He desired that I would postpone these two points till after dinner, when M^o Grimaldi would give me the meeting at his house, and that, in the mean time, we might proceed to the other particulars. This I consented to, with its being understood that nothing I agreed to should be binding, unless I had full satisfaction in the former points. We then began on the affair of the prizes alleged by Spain to be illegally made in time of peace. This was adjusted according to the article I here enclose, after my shewing him that the method observed in England was conformable to the law of nations, and to treaties, and he appeared perfectly satisfied with it. The evacuations of the settlements on the Spanish territory came next in question, and the security to be given by the court of Madrid in compensation for these cessions, for the entire liberty to the British subject to cut, load, and transport logwood at and from the places where it had been usually done. In this point, likewise, I think the Duc de Choiseul acted, after some little dispute had upon it, with great frankness and a real desire of conciliation betwixt us and Spain. He seemed to know very little of the intentions of Spain, about their claim of a right to fish on the banks of Newfoundland, except that they were much out of humour about it; and that if they had it, they would make little or no use of it. He seemed very uneasy about that part of your lordship's letter of the 21st of August, where compensations were talked of for *conquêtes faites ou à faire*. He said Spain, he feared, notwithstanding all the influence they had over her, would never admit of this, though we should have actually taken the Havannah, and that it would necessarily blast all hopes of their evacuating what they had gained in Portugal, and of their

giving up the advantages they hoped to reap by the conquest of A.D. 1762. that whole kingdom, or at least, of a considerable part of it. Upon my reproaching him with the injustice of the war they had begun jointly with Spain against that unhappy kingdom, he replied, that the King of Prussia, by his invasion of Saxony, had taught them the way, and that England in some degree had followed that track in beginning the war against France, by taking her ships before any declaration of it. As I was unwilling to irritate, when my business here was to reconcile, I pushed this matter no farther; but desired to know of him how far France could answer for Spain, provided we gave her what could be reasonably expected from us, in the three points which had been the cause of the rupture. He told me that the King of Spain has assured his cousin the King of France, that as he had entered into the war merely on his account, he was ready to make his peace with England whenever France should desire it, and that he had given *carte blanche* to his most Christian majesty, to order Grimaldi to sign whenever he should be pleased to give him directions in points that related jointly to both crowns; but, he added, that he believed the Spanish ambassador was so ill-intentioned to the peace, that he feared it might be frustrated through his means. Upon the whole, if I can judge at all by the behaviour and language of the Duc de Choiseul, by the little I have as yet seen of the women he converses with, particularly his sister the Duchesse de Grammont, by Madame Pompadour, with whom I have more than once conversed, and by the accounts of the Sardinian ambassador, who is perfectly well acquainted with this court, I can venture to assure your lordship that the Duc de Choiseul most heartily wishes the conclusion of the peace, which indeed is most material to him, in every point of view.

Having now informed your lordship of every thing material which I can recollect during this long conversation *tête-à-tête* with this minister, I must now relate the particulars of what passed, after an interval of about two hours, between the two French ministers, M^{re} Grimaldi, and myself. Though I had already been apprised of the character of the Spanish ambassador, and of his ill intentions towards the great work now in hand, yet I did not expect to find it so strongly marked at the very first meeting we ever had upon business. For though that minister was very lavish in professions

A.D. 1762. of the desire of his court to a thorough reconciliation with England, and of his zeal to contribute, to the utmost of his abilities, to carry these pacific intentions of his court into execution; yet I found, by the difficulties he started upon every article, even the most trifling one—that of the prizes, which he disputed with me to the utmost—that all his professions of good intentions towards a reconciliation betwixt our two courts could not be in any degree relied on. And though I did not specifically enter at that time into the affairs of Portugal, any farther than by assuring him that a thorough satisfaction with regard to that kingdom was a *sine quâ non* of my proceeding in the negotiation with him, the Duc de Choiseul having undertaken that the king, his master, should bring him to my terms on that head,—yet I found that, in the affair of the logwood, and the evacuations of the establishments on the Spanish territory, where undoubtedly his majesty has shewn, for the sake of peace, the greatest attention to the court of Spain, he was, after an altercation of above an hour, in which I was supported against him by the French ministers, with difficulty brought to acquiesce to the article which I herein enclose; but at the same time he insisted that I should send to your lordship the paper, which, he said, had been sent him from his court in the very shape it now appears in, which, he protests, he believes will be rather accepted by you in England than that I have drawn up.

With regard to the article of the claim of the Biscayners and Guipuscoans, to fish on the banks of Newfoundland, he will by no means hear of any proposal that does not absolutely ascertain this right to them, and chooses to have no article at all about it. Either he or his court have certainly lost their senses, if that can be judged of by the strange language he holds, that Spain, if refused the liberty of fishing or buying fish at Newfoundland, will prohibit the importation of Bacallao, and that the Pope has already, on the application of the King of Spain, permitted the general use of flesh on fast-days. This is such stuff, that I am almost ashamed to put it into a despatch; but your lordship should be informed when passion and resentment make ministers and even nations act simply. This foolish discourse, however, brought us to a very material business; that as, by the treaties of commerce and peace which were to be renewed, we were to be considered as *gens ami-*

cissima, France must necessarily likewise be precluded from this A.D. 1762. beneficial trade of vending their fish in the Spanish ports; this he allowed, as the prohibition would be general, but that his court never intended to renew all the treaties which were in force and vigour before the rupture, for a longer term than half, or, at the most, a whole year; by which time it would be insisted on, that a new treaty of commerce should be made, the treaties of commerce which did subsist before the war being so contradictory to each other, and so burdensome to Spain, that M^o Arriaga, their principal minister of the finances, had wrote to him, that the king would no longer endure it. It is needless to trouble your lordship with the puerilities and false reasoning made use of by M^o Grimaldi on this occasion. It will suffice to inform you, that he concluded with saying, that no force on earth should prevail with him to exceed his instructions in this point, and that he would rather lose his right arm than sign it. The Duc de Choiseul upon this took the pen and said, that he would endeavour to reconcile all differences on this point betwixt us, which he hoped he should effect by the article herein enclosed, which M^o de Grimaldi assented to, after long debate with the Duc de Choiseul, but which I declared I could not, it being directly contrary to my instructions, and a point of too great moment for me to accept it in any other way than *ad referendum*. However, I think myself obliged to inform your lordship, that I fear Spain, without some change is agreed to be made hereafter in her commercial treaties with us, will not by any instances from France be induced to come into terms of accommodation. And, indeed, if any alteration is to be made, the article sketched out by the Duc de Choiseul, seems fully calculated to render such alteration as little disagreeable to England as is possible. Though in the affair of Portugal I depended chiefly on the French ministers, who assured me, that with regard to that, the most Christian king would see satisfaction should be given to us on that most material point, yet I think myself obliged, as this naturally came sometimes in question during this meeting, to inform your lordship of the reasonings made use of by M^o Grimaldi. He said, “his court desired to be judged on the same principles on which we judged ourselves;” these were the very words he repeated several times; and that as we had given their court

A.D. 1762. to understand, by making use of the words *conquêtes faites ou à faire*, that we were determined to ask a compensation for the Havannah, should it be taken, they had undoubtedly more than an equal right with us of asking compensations for what they had actually gained in Portugal. My answer to this was, that such small advantages as they had gained in Portugal, by possessing a small tract of a barren and mountainous country, and a few bad fortresses on its frontiers, ought not ever (even though I should not dispute the certainty of the advantages they had gained there) to be put in competition against even the great probability of our success at the Havannah; and that therefore, unless he meant to play a very deep stake, he had better sign with me at once before any sinister event for them might alter the conditions which his majesty as yet was willing to grant them. It growing late, and we being all engaged to supper, the conversation ended here; and I shall now begin with informing you of all that passed between the ministers and me the next day, having already given you, in my letter of that date, an account of my audiences with the king, queen, and royal family.

On my first seeing in the morning the Comte de Choiseul, he began with complaining, that I had not shewed any facilities, the night before, with regard to the court of Spain, *without whom they could not make peace*. He then told me, that as a reciprocity was to be observed throughout the whole negotiation, France would not oblige herself to make the evacuations in Germany immediately upon the ratification of the preliminary articles, unless England would consent to commence her epochs for the other restitutions from the same time. As I foresaw this objection would be made when my instructions were before the lords of the council, where I was present, and as the argument is undoubtedly a just one, I had no other reply to make to it than this,—that I thought the putting an immediate end to the expenses of the German war would be so agreeable to both nations, that I flattered myself that they had passed this over for mutual convenience; but that if they insisted upon what they now mentioned, upon the footing of a reciprocity, it was what I could not deny they had a right to exact. After dinner the conversation of the former night was resumed between the same parties, but without any more success than before, I refusing absolutely to take the article relating to the new treaty of commerce with

Spain but *ad referendum*, though I was assured by the Duc de Choiseul and la Duchesse de Pompadour, whom I saw that morning, that if I would agree absolutely to that article, the French king would take it on himself to answer for M^o de Grimaldi signing immediately the preliminaries. On my refusal to do this, we parted, with a resolution to send couriers to our respective courts the next day; and I told M^o Grimaldi I would send him the next morning the articles which I should draw up in relation to the security of Portugal. Upon my return home from Versailles, I found the Sardinian ambassador, who, upon the strength of a conversation he had the night before with the Duc de Choiseul and Mad. de Pompadour, and of the relation I gave him of what had passed between the ministers at Versailles, M^o Grimaldi, and myself, pressed me in the strongest terms, as I valued the success of the negotiation with which I was charged, and as I was convinced of the ill faith and bad intentions of M^o Grimaldi, to put him into such a situation, by my accepting the Duc de Choiseul's article about renewing the treaties with Spain, as would disable him from frustrating the conclusion of the preliminaries, by the only point being given up to him, in which his most Christian majesty could not interfere, it being a measure relative solely to England and Spain. He endeavoured to persuade me that I could not in this be disavowed in England, and that peace or no peace depended upon it. Upon my firmness not to yield in this, he desired me to write a letter next morning, before I sent off my courier, to the Duc de Choiseul, to inform him how far I could go, in order to enable them to bring M^o de Grimaldi to sign, and to acquiesce in the satisfaction I expected in relation to the boundary of Canada, and the navigation of the Mississippi to the sea. This I consented to do; and he offered to carry my letter himself to Versailles, and to confer with the Duc de Choiseul upon it. The enclosed is a copy of my letter; and I likewise enclose the articles relating to Portugal, which, at the same time, I sent to the Marques de Grimaldi, and the article relating to the treaties, which I thought myself authorised to sign. Upon the Sardinian ambassador's return from Versailles on Saturday night, he called upon me, and brought me a letter from the Duc de Choiseul, of which I enclose the copy, together with a copy of the Duc de Choiseul's observations; but as in that letter

A.D. 1762. I am referred to what the Bailli de Solar should tell me, I find myself still obliged to take up a little more of your lordship's time. This minister pressed me in the most earnest manner to comply, as he thought the fate of the negotiation depended in great measure upon it, though the French ministers declared they could go no farther with regard to the article of the treaties of Spain than what le Duc de Choiseul had done in the article I have sent you. They propose inserting in the preliminaries relating to the boundary of Canada, either of the articles here enclosed, which is all, they say, can be done in the preliminaries, as they dare not let M^o Grimaldi know how far they are willing to content us, as this would certainly make him refuse signing the preliminaries. But they engage to give, in a separate instrument, to be signed at the same time, the most solemn assurances, in the King of France's name, for the boundaries of Canada as already explained, and for the free navigation of the Mississippi to the sea. The words I had drawn up to answer the intent of the *reasonable inspection* of the exactness of their engagements relative to the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon they beg may be omitted, and that the king, their master, hopes this will be agreed to, in complaisance to him. They make no other objection to the article about Dunkirk, as I have worded it, except by the alteration of the word *pourvu* to the word *après*, and by leaving out the word *certifiant* at the end.

If your lordship has patience to go through this long detail, you will be as much *au fait* as I can make you, of the intention of these ministers. I am, &c. &c.

BEDFORD.

As though to increase the difficulties of this situation, the duke had scarcely landed in France ere he received a communication from Lord Egremont, repeated on the 19th, which limited his full powers, requiring him, when the preliminaries with both crowns were arranged, *to transmit them that they might be submitted to the king for his approbation, previous to their being signed*. This reclamation, which was at the same time mischievously communicated to the Duc de Nivernois, tended so obviously, by the personal discredit

which it threw upon him, to compromise in various ways the success of his negotiation, that his surprise was only equalled by his indignation. In a spirited appeal to Lord Bute, he complained of the indignity, and demanded not only a rectification of the order, in unison with his first instructions, but a security against the repetition of such fettering and contradictory restraints. "What occasion was there," he finally inquired, "for sending a minister to this court, if the whole was to be transacted from ministry to ministry? and why was I selected for this contemptible employment of transmitting *projets* only to my court after so long a negotiation, which must be finished soon, or not at all, putting me upon a worse footing than Lord Egremont would have put one of his clerks; and so debasing me in the eyes of this nation with whom I am to treat, that I confess I never felt so much uneasiness in my whole life?"¹

His fiery remonstrance struck the minister with due alarm. He had, with too little reflection, given in to the suggestions of the two secretaries, who, feeling the great responsibility of their situation, in the inflammable state of the public mind, were jealous of Lord Bute's eagerness for peace, and fearful, perhaps, that the Duke of Bedford's desire for it might induce him to make embarrassing concessions. In a long interview with Mr. Rigby, Lord Bute sought, with seeming shame, to excuse his consent to this abridgement of powers, by protesting that he had been led into it by a desire for the duke's security, that his responsibility might be divided with the whole cabinet. On stating his intention to summon a council, in which he would propose the restitution of his original powers, Mr. Rigby inquired if he was sure of its concur-

¹ Duke of Bedford to the Earl of Bute, Paris, Sept. 20, 1762.

A.D. 1762. rence? To which he answered, "the king would be obeyed, and would talk to his two secretaries on their scruples."¹

The king did so, and dismissed them. "Judge," says the monarch in a note afterwards to Lord Bute, "of Grenville's countenance by that of his brother's at the installation. Lord Egremont was wise enough to fly in a passion in the closet, and to tell me, that he had but one sentiment to offer upon the subject, which was, to send the Duke of Bedford certain fixed articles for the preliminaries, upon no event to be changed; and if the French refused to comply with such, immediately to recall him. I answered, that this sentiment was totally different from mine; that a boy of ten years old might as well have been sent to Paris on this errand; but that what had given me satisfaction in his grace's having undertaken the negotiation, was, that I had the best opinion of his head and heart, nor had I a subject on whom I could more safely depend."² Lord Egremont, however, seemed still unwilling to recede; and it was not until the Duke of Bedford had reiterated all his objections, that this compromise was come to in the council for his satisfaction,—that his late despatches should be read in a meeting of the whole cabinet, where those points in which no concession could be made, were to be unalterably fixed, the rest to be left to his discretion, and the whole attended with full powers to sign with both courts.³ The tenour of those despatches sufficiently evinced that he was the best guardian of his own security,—that whilst desiring that proper latitude which was due to the nature of his mission, he was not insensible of the hollow ground on which he stood—of the readiness which some were shewing to compromise or disavow him. That there was

¹ Mr. Rigby to the Duke of Bedford, Sept. 29, 1762.

² *Ib.* September 30.

³ *Ib.* September 29.

great occasion for the exercise of all his care, is clear from A.D. 1762. what the French ambassador wrote at this moment to the Comte de Choiseul. “ I am crossed and impatient at all that has passed at Paris, but neither daunted nor discouraged. I will undoubtedly do my best to draw with me some part of the ministry ; but be quite satisfied that they say true when they dilate on the dangers which they run, in being too close pushed in this affair. Remember what occurred at the peace of Utrecht ; and be assured that there was then less invective used, less fermentation, frenzy, and audacity put in play, than at this moment by the Opposition. Besides, the duke whom you have with you, is to be felt for in his fear of being compromised : he is personally hated by a great number of them ; he has but few partizans ; he is altogether cut out to serve them for a victim ; and the spoil will be good, for he has an immense income.”¹ The ominous hint is in perfect unison with Mr. Rigby’s cautions. “ Keep,” he says, “ keep upon sure ground, knowing, as you well do, what heads and hearts you are to depend upon for support.”²

The Duc de Nivernois’ disposition to recede from some of the more important points previously agreed to, meanwhile received a check ; and the Duke of Bedford at length brought all things back in the French *projet* to their first state. He secured the evacuation of Wezel, Cleves, and Gueldres, the prevention of succours, either in men or money, to the allies of France *in the whole empire*, and the navigation of the Mississippi *in its whole extent of course*, which left no room for any debate, in consequence of the doubts that then existed whether the river Iberville passed actually through the lakes of Maurepas and Pontchartrain, or not. And he still employed every means that he thought likely to touch the

¹ Lond. le 26 Sept. 1762. ² Mr. Rigby to the D. of Bedford, Sept. 29.

A.D. 1762. haughty reluctance of Grimaldi, particularly through his fears, for which purpose he made no secret of the instructions which his court had now sent out for the capture of Manilla. The French ministers joined their efforts, but more faintly; all being yet buoyed up with the hope that the Havannah would be safe. The treaty was languishing in this uncertain state, when a courier, despatched from London, brought the important intelligence that the Havannah had fallen—the conquest the completest ever known—fourteen sail of the line, thirty merchantmen loaded for Europe, and three millions of dollars of the King of Spain's, besides an immense private treasure.

One of the first feelings that affected the French ministry, on the news of this great blow, was anger at the late conduct of Grimaldi, especially as the next courier from Madrid brought the consent of that court to nearly all that the Duke of Bedford had previously demanded. “I frankly confess,” writes the Comte de Choiseul to the Duc de Nivernois, “that Spain, if the influence of her disaster should not extend to us, has only what she merits.”¹ “The answer of Spain is such, that we might have signed to-morrow if the Duke of Bedford had received his moderated instructions, and the Havannah had not been captured,—we must depart from the position we have taken up.”² The French ambassador was accordingly desired to find out what the English ministry would be likely to require, and to break off the force of any new claim, by a well-managed assent to the Spanish articles, so late objected to by the Marquis Grimaldi.

The Duc de Nivernois consented to make the trial, but candidly forewarned his friend that it would be fruitless. “The scene is changed here,” he says, “by the late capture;

¹ Versailles, le 3 Octobre, 1762. ² Ib. Fontainebleau, le 7 Oct. 1762.

but it is changed only for the ministry, since the Opposition A.D. 1762. persists in the same views and principles, and uses only more numerous weapons, and invigorated strength. The ministry (Lord Bute excepted) no longer thinks that it has need of peace: sign, therefore, if *you* desire it, before the opening of parliament, *quoque modo*; assure yourself, that with the rhetoric of Demosthenes, or Mr. Pitt's or your own eloquence, you will not obtain the restitution of the Havannah without a notable equivalent; even then it will be difficult; and he will have much courage who dares to charge himself with the affair on the footing upon which it is agitated."¹

The amount of compensation which it would be proper to require, led to several animated discussions in the British cabinet. Lord Bute manifested still a disposition to conclude the treaty on the original terms:² he complained to the Duke of Bedford that the news had turned the heads of the wisest men; and that those who had hitherto been the loudest for almost any peace, now thought that even the French terms ought to be screwed up higher.³ But his inclination was controlled by the rest of the cabinet, who were more or less affected by the prevalent temper of the nation, the cupidity of which was cherished by every possible expedient that the wit of party could devise. Their loftier demands drew him to a compromise; and it was agreed that the cession of Florida should be the least they could require. The Duke of Bedford, who was perfectly well apprised of the differences of opinion in the cabinet, took advantage of them to demand, in addition to Florida, the grant of Porto-Rico, and an express renunciation of Spain to her claim of right of fishery off the

¹ Duc de Nivernois to the Duc de Choiseul, Londres, le 9 Oct. 1762.

² Mr. Rigby to the Duke of Bedford, Sept. 30, 1762.

³ Lord Bute to the Duke of Bedford, October 14, 1762.

A.D. 1762. Banks of Newfoundland. The Duc de Choiseul was at Fontainebleau, laid up by the gout, when Mr. Neville, secretary to the embassy, appeared as the bearer of the duke's letter. The minister proceeded to read the letter aloud; when he came to the new requisitions, he exclaimed, impatiently, "*Voilà le diable!*"—on finishing the letter, he sought to abate the edge of this remark, by placing it to the delay that must ensue, since the Marquis Grimaldi could assent to no territorial cession whatever, without express orders from his sovereign. He set himself then to calculate the time in which a courier could go and come: "Et après cela," said he, with fire and some ill-humour, "il nous faudra nécessairement des pour-parlers, car nos affaires ne sont pas tout-à-fait arrangés encore."¹

But there was little real intention in the French ministers to expend much time in menacing discussions. They had been apprised by Nivernois, that the longer the delay, the severer would the terms become; that they must require immediately from Spain *carte-blanche* without restriction, and with the utmost diligence; for that if the British parliament first opened, the storm would overwhelm all,—the king, his ministry, the peace, "and what then," he inquired, "will become of Spain? what of France? and what of the ministry of France? O, mon Dieu! que M. de Grimaldi avec sa conduite passée me pèse sur l'estomac!"² "Spain," says the Comte de Choiseul, in reply, "will with difficulty be brought to subscribe the terms; she will come to at the last; but I fear it will be too late."³

It accordingly became an object of the first importance to obtain an extension of time for their courier's return, and the

¹ Mr. Neville to the Duke of Bedford, Oct. 19.

² Duc de Nivernois

au Comte de Choiseul, le 18 Oct.

³ Fontainebleau, le 21 Oct., 1762.

settlement of the preliminaries. The Duc de Nivernois made A.D. 1762. earnest application for the prorogation of the English parliament to a more distant day: the English ministry made a difficulty of the concession; but it was at length accorded; and the parliament was fixed to meet upon the 25th of November.

No decisive instructions had yet been sent to the Duke of Bedford on the Spanish points referred to his court. The ministry had, in fact, been bending before the blast of public opinion; and the circulation of a strange rumour, that the preliminaries were to be submitted to the approval of parliament previous to signature, operated so greatly to its disadvantage that some change was unavoidable. Lord Halifax was accordingly made secretary of state in the room of Mr. Grenville, who was removed to the Admiralty; Lord Gower was called to the cabinet council; and Mr. Fox, after acquainting himself with the details of the negotiation, was prevailed upon to take the lead in the House of Commons in favour of the peace. This arrangement was justly regarded by the public as a certain sign that the king was determined to be firm in the exercise of his prerogative: so the Opposition redoubled their efforts, and induced some of their adherents to send in their resignations, not much, however, to the embarrassment of the minister.¹ In announcing to the Duke of Bedford his acceptance of the king's offers, Mr. Fox assured him, that, sustained by his grace's approbation, he

¹ "The secret practices of faction begin to transpire; some resignations are made; others, I am told, about to be; every method is tried to bring the Rutland family to the same desperate step. What the success may be, I don't pretend to say; but this I can safely assure your grace, the king's rest is not disturbed: on the contrary, he is pleased to have people fairly take off the mask; and looks with the utmost contempt on what he sees and knows is going forward."—*Lord Bute to the Duke of Bedford, Oct. 30, 1762.*

A.D. 1762. should acquit himself with courage ; although nothing could prevent his feeling, in the most affecting manner, that his friendship with the Duke of Cumberland, which had been the honour and happiness of his life, would be greatly impaired, if not quite broken by it.”¹

This point being settled, a council was held on the 25th of October, at which the ultimatum of the British court upon the Spanish articles, &c. was definitively fixed, and a *contre-projet* transmitted to the Duke of Bedford, with special instructions to insist alone upon *either* Florida or Porto Rico as a compensation for the Havannah ; and it was at the same time—as though for the greater security of his obedience—accompanied by the following autograph letter :—

THE KING TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

St. James's, Oct. 26, 1762.

My Lord Duke,—This is so critical a minute, both for mine own honour and the security of the nation, that I think it necessary to send you these few lines, not to exhort you—for I know your steady and affectionate adherence to my interest,—but to declare to you, with my own pen, that, after weighing every consequence, I am determined either to make the peace I now send you, or to continue the war. I think if the French and Spaniards have not very bad intelligence, they will see the danger run by suffering this to hang till the meeting of my parliament. The best despatch, therefore, I can receive from you, and the most essential to my service, will be these preliminaries signed. May Providence, in compassion to human misery, give you this means of executing this great and noble work ; and be assured, I will never forget the duty and attachment you shew to me on this important crisis.

GEORGE R.

Three days after the receipt of this letter, the Comte de Choiseul writes to the French ambassador : “ The King of

¹ Mr. Fox to the Duke of Bedford, Oct. 26, 1762.

Spain consents to cede Florida, but I beg of you to confide A.D. 1762.
the fact to no one. I hope that this sacrifice will make the
peace; it will be an unhappy one, but what is to be done?
the continuance of the war will be a greater evil. The En-
glish are furiously imperious; they are drunk with success;
and, unfortunately, we are not in a condition to abase their
pride. In three days, however, we shall know our doom,
and that will be some consolation; for I have been harassed
to death by the suspense of the last six months.”¹

These three days were passed by the Duke of Bedford in
final discussions with the French ministers on the prelimi-
naries. Having shewn so strongly his indignation at the late
restriction of his powers, a latitude was allowed him upon
certain points; but this ostensible freedom was rendered
nugatory, to any useful result, by the secret treachery of Lord
Bute, who, with great dissimulation,

“ Had kept the word of promise to the ear,
But broke it to the hope.”

It appears, from the private correspondence of the Duc
de Nivernois, that all the main points of the *contre-projet*
now agreed to by the British cabinet, had been both settled,
and *communicated by Lord Bute to the French ambassador*,
through the Comte de Viry, so early as the 11th of October.
“ I adjoin, herewith,” writes Nivernois to the Comte de
Choiseul, on that day, “ an exact copy of what resolves all
our doubts—the document given to me by the Comte de
Viry. I have seen and read the original, between his hands,
in the hand-writing of my Lord Bute. The notes which you
will find in the margin of the two articles are written by
myself, under Viry’s dictation, and contain only, as he says,
his opinion and particular prognostic. The articles without

¹ Le 30 Octobre, 1762.

A.D. 1762. marginal notes are the *sine quâ non* conditions, which can admit of no modification. Besides this communication of Lord Bute's sentiments, Viry has further apprised me of several details containing *the particular advice given by those members of the cabinet council who are of most credit,*" which he then proceeds to furnish.

The natural tendency of this secret intelligence was to induce the French ministers at Paris to abandon the defence of the fixed articles, and to concentrate all their weapons of objection upon those points in which the Duke of Bedford had a discretionary power, and for any relaxation in which he would thus become personally responsible. And he would be so much the more at their mercy, in these particulars, as they knew that he could not venture to a sacrifice of the treaty for the sake of any inferior advantages. Well aware of the duke's impetuous temperament, it was not, therefore, without good reason that the French ambassador wrote: "the above details are confided to me under the strictest seal of secrecy, which I have promised shall be kept religiously, as well from Spain as from the Duke of Bedford."¹ And again, in a second letter on the same day: "Keep and recommend the most solemn secrecy, both in regard to the King of Spain, the Duke of Bedford, and whoever shall not be necessarily admitted to it; remember the fate of Lord Oxford at the peace of Utrecht; and be assured that poor Lord Bute himself will be equally mindful of it."²

In the long discussions that ensued, the French ministers availed themselves of the vantage-ground thus treacherously conceded to them, and tried every tone of language that was likely to lead any concession in its train. The firmness of

¹ Duc de Nivernois au Comte de Choiseul, le 11 d'Oct. au soir.

² Ib. à onze heures du soir.

the duke disconcerted most of these attempts ; but as the A.D. 1762. Marquis de Grimaldi still shewed himself inexorable on several points, he found it necessary to obtain their authority with him by shortening the epoch for the mutual cessions of Cuba and Florida, from four to three months ; by reducing the six leagues distance from the British-American coasts, within which the French were not to fish, to three ; and by abating them one-half of the fifteen leagues distance from Cape Breton, to the same end : “ The argument,” he says, “ made use of by the French ministers on these points was unanswerable, as they would otherwise have been virtually precluded from making any use of the fishery to which this article nominally entitled them. Had I not relaxed in these few points, of no great importance to us, but of great moment in the eyes of the French king and his ministers, I should never have got them to speak so roundly to the Spanish minister as they have done ; his most Christian Majesty having taken upon himself actually to order the M^{re} de Grimaldi to sign, which he absolutely refused doing without such an order.¹ The Spanish articles appearing to me not only of the greatest difficulty in the negotiating them, but as of the greatest import in the eyes of his majesty and the opinion of the public, I state the circumstance to evince the necessity to which I was reduced in obtaining these inestimable advantages to the crown of Great Britain.”² Every obstacle being thus at length happily removed, the preliminaries were signed on the 3d of November, and ratified upon the 22d ; and the king desired Lord Bute to convey to the duke the highest approbation of his conduct. “ I saw,” writes Mr. Fox to him, “ his majesty to-day, who speaks of you, and what you have done, as your best friends could wish.

¹ ² Duke of Bedford to Lord Egremont, Nov. 3, 1762.

A.D. 1762. He says, ‘ he and his council should think themselves much obliged to you for acting like a man of honour and courage, in doing, at your own risk, without delay, what in your judgment, and in his too, is so honourable and advantageous to him and to your country.’ Some wonder at you ; but in this case, wonder is, what Dr. Young calls it, involuntary praise. We are loudly threatened, but I see no reason why, like other threatened folk, we may not live long.”¹

The negotiations connected with the settlement of the Definitive Treaty, occupied three months more of close and arduous exertion. Amongst the many subjects that still required arrangement, were two of primary importance, involving the interests of the English East India Company, and the dignity of the King of Portugal. The Duke of Bedford had secured insertion in the preliminaries of the very clause which the former had transmitted to him, to guarantee the restoration of all acquisitions made by the French on the coasts of Coromandel, Malabar, and in Bengal. Its secret committee subsequently thinking, that from the date of restitution being fixed “ to the commencement of hostilities in 1749,” the article was open to dispute, now pressed for a new epoch—namely, the 1st of January in that year. The Duke of Bedford, accordingly, enforced the request in repeated conferences ; but the French ministers, jealous of all innovation in the articles, refused with so much tenacity to make any change, that the British cabinet, despairing of its ability to gratify the Company, empowered him to sign the treaty, though it should not be granted.² Either the directors were ignorant of the great importance, in other respects, of keeping to the epoch of the 1st of January, or they thought it

¹ Mr. Fox to the Duke of Bedford, Nov. 12, 1762.

² Lord Egremont to the Duke of Bedford, Jan. 22. 1763.

more politic to conceal their knowledge, or they neglected, A.D. 1763. from oversight, to inform the English ministers of it ; for the proposed alteration was placed by them solely on the ambiguity of the preliminary article. The duke, therefore, had agreed to let this article remain, and was ready to sign the treaty without the alteration. But, at this critical moment, he consulted M. de Pinto, a Dutch gentleman, of Portuguese extraction, then at Paris, who, having connexions in India, and having lately read Dupleix's memoirs, was well acquainted with the state of affairs there. From him the duke learned, that hostilities between the companies did not commence till the 15th of July, 1749. Had the original epoch, therefore, been followed in the definitive treaty, all the acquisitions of the French preceding that date must have been restored to them. But the extracts which De Pinto now submitted to his perusal from Dupleix, clearly shewed, that on the 1st of July in the same year, Ali Rezakan, subah of the Carnatic, had made very rich grants to the French company, to the annual amount of three million and a half of rupees, or 76,500*l.*; all which, if the epoch were changed, would become the property of the English company.¹ Sensible now of the great importance of the affair, he sought an interview with the Duc de Choiseul, and more strenuously demanded the change of epoch. The French minister is stated to have upbraided him, in strong terms, with his versatility, which the duke did not extenuate; but he declared that his past inadvertence was no reason why he should consent, with his eyes open, to betray his country's interests; and therefore, if the French cabinet would not agree to cede these earlier acquisitions, agreeably to the spirit of the articles which they had signed, he would return home within twelve

¹ M. de Pinto à M. Neville, Jan. 20, 1763.

A.D. 1763. hours, and submit the fate of his head to the decision of an English parliament. The minister, startled at the intrepidity of this resolve, frowned, paused, hesitated, and complied; and England is said now to enjoy half a million annually, in consequence of that spirited retort.¹

In the preliminary articles it was stipulated that all the conquests of Spain in Portugal should be restored, and the King of Portugal be invited to accede to the articles as soon as possible. M. de Mello, the minister from Lisbon, accordingly signed at London the acts of accession, which the French and Spanish ministers duly concurred in, and formally signed other acts accepting the accession. The acts of accession were double, and formed according to the rule of alternating between the three contracting powers. But though the Duc de Choiseul professed himself satisfied with the disposition of Portugal to France, he declared positively that his king would not alternate with Portugal. The Portuguese minister insisted on the point, and supported his demand by extracts from every treaty which France had ever signed with Portugal. The Duc de Choiseul, sore upon the foil which he had so recently received from the Duke of Bedford, was equally tenacious, and said with warmth, "that his king had declared in council that he would not yield, whatever the consequence might be." The great work of peace, in all other respects, was now brought to a completion: the duke had carried his East India point, the specific guarantee of the electorate of Hanover, and various other desirable clauses, without departing from any one of his instructions; and the

¹ The service of M. de Pinto did not pass unrecompensed. For, presenting soon after a memorial to the English East India Company, to which the Duke of Bedford lent his powerful support, a pension of 500*l.* a-year was settled on him, which he enjoyed during the remainder of his life.

several ministers were seated at the table in the palace of Fontainebleau, prepared to sign the Definitive Treaty. At this juncture, M. de Mello so strongly reiterated his former arguments, and so earnestly insisted that the honour of his master was concerned in being a contracting party, that the Duke of Bedford declared, until the representative of his sovereign's ally was satisfied, he should certainly not sign without farther orders from his court.¹ A stormy altercation ensued; and the affair was for a long while debated with great eagerness: but the duke was ultimately successful; the French ministers gave in, with great ill-humour on the part of the Duc de Choiseul;² and on the 10th of February the signed treaty was despatched to England by Mr. Neville, who in the following letter communicates the style of his reception:—

MR. NEVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London, Feb. 16th, 1763.

My Lord,—I arrived in town yesterday at five o'clock, and found my Lord Egremont at dinner with Mr. Grenville, from whence his lordship instantly accompanied me to the king. His majesty received me most graciously, and kept me a full hour and

¹ Duke of Bedford to Lord Egremont, Paris, Feb. 10, 1763.

² The Duc de Choiseul afterwards complained strongly of the duke's rigid tenacity, both upon this and the East India article, and retaliated by thwarting his efforts to carry into effect the king's desire of recompensing the King of Sardinia for the assistance he had lent during the negotiations, by supporting his pretensions relative to the Plaisintin. It was consequently not until May, and after many discussions, that the King of Sardinia was satisfied. On the 27th of that month, the Duke of Bedford was informed by Lord Egremont, that both to the king his master and to Mr. Pitt, that monarch had expressed his entire satisfaction in the affair, and particularly in the zeal and firmness with which the Duke of Bedford had enforced it. "The king commanded me to communicate this to you immediately, that your grace might have the satisfaction to receive, before you left Paris, this fresh testimony of your distinguished abilities, which have so repeatedly merited the king's highest approbation during the course of your embassy, and which has produced so perfect a reconciliation between the two crowns."—Lord Egremont to the Duke of Bedford, May 27, 1763.

A.D. 1763. a half in his closet. He read over your grace's despatch with great eagerness, asked me questions upon many particulars of it, and, expressing a satisfaction even greater than I could have conceived, said to Lord Egremont, "Why, my lord, this is greater than we could have hoped for; England never signed such a peace before, nor, I believe, any other power in Europe. Indeed, the Duke of Bedford has done greatly!" Lord Egremont said, no prince had ever begun his reign by so glorious a war and so glorious a peace. As the king pressed me to mix in the conversation, I did it with great freedom, and told him what every one must think of your grace's conduct who had the honour of seeing it so near as I did. That I need not repeat. But the king most cordially joined in the same sentiment with me, and I believe your grace will receive a letter by Mr. Vernon from Lord Bute, which will prove how highly his majesty thinks himself obliged to you. He inquired much after your health, and said every thing that was civil, nay affectionate, upon that occasion. Besides the approbation he expressed upon all the national points, he was pleased with the guarantee of his Electoral dominions, and particularly so with the care taken of the honour of the crown of Portugal. When his majesty had gone through the treaty and your grace's letter, he asked me several questions relative to the interior state of France, which gave me an opportunity of mentioning what the French king had said to your grace upon the ratification of the preliminary articles, with which he was extremely pleased. I told him the circumstance of signing the treaty in his ambassador's house, and under his majesty's picture, and made him laugh very much at the squabble among the plenipotentiaries about the alternative with Portugal. He seemed satisfied with the account I gave of the interior of France, and said something very obliging to me upon the occasion, repeating part of what your grace had so kindly written. From court I went to Lord Bute; but, not finding him, left your grace's letter, and returned to his lordship this morning. Your grace will easily believe I was received well there. His lordship declared, with great earnestness, "No man had ever rendered so great a service to his king and country; and that there was not a man in the kingdom could have done it but the Duke of Bedford." He said he knew very well, and had been much concerned at it, that at times he had not been well with your grace; but he was persuaded, had you known

the situation he had himself been in, that would not have hap- A.D. 1763.
pened. And, indeed, I have been informed from different quarters, and all good ones, that for a fortnight Lord Bute and Lord Egremont did not speak to each other. Indeed, my lord, I find it to be the general opinion of your grace's friends (and I protest that from Lord Bute's behaviour towards me this morning I totally agree with them), that he is thoroughly sensible how much he is obliged to your grace, and desirous of shewing it to all the world. From thence I called on Mr. Rigby, where I staid till court time. At the levee the king talked to me twice, and most obligingly. He inquired very much after your grace, and said it would have been a great misfortune had the gout postponed the signing of such a peace. I could not help telling his majesty your grace had protested, you would have signed with your teeth, sooner than have delayed a work you knew would be so agreeable to his majesty. Though the king took this with seeming approbation, I feared upon recollection it would have been thought improper. But the very contrary has happened. I was overheard, and your spirit as much admired. At court I had the compliments of all the king's servants, and all the world, except Lord Mansfield. His lordship honoured me with a bow, and that was all. To judge of the peace by my reception at the House of Commons, there will scarce be a negative to it. Wilkes owned to me, "if what he heard of it was true, it was the damnedst peace for the Opposition that ever was made." Indeed, my lord, I hope your country, as well as your king, will feel as it ought how much it owes you. I am conscious, on reading over this letter, how trifling and unsatisfactory it is in comparison of what it should be; but Mr. Vernon's sudden departure, and my own hurry of spirits, must plead my excuse; and all private anecdotes¹ your grace will hear from Lady Ossory and Mr. Vernon. Your grace will excuse, therefore, my adding nothing more at present, than my most respectful acknowledgments to the Duchess of Bedford, and the assurances of the perfect attachment and respect with which I shall ever remain, my lord, &c. &c.

RICHARD NEVILLE NEVILLE.

¹ In one of his letters Mr. Fox observes, "Selwyn is much obliged to the duchess for the pen that signed the treaty, which will be looked on with veneration ages hence; for George is already taking care for its preservation."

A.D. 1763. The violence of party heat, and the political exasperation of the public raised against Lord Bute, prevented the complete fulfilment of these anticipations. The parliamentary reception which the treaty was likely to meet with from the Opposition, might be gathered, at the first blush, from the language of the city, where the influence of its leaders had been so long and busily concentrated. With the first intelligence there that preliminaries were signed, a rumour spread that Porto-Rico was the equivalent obtained for the Havannah. A cry was instantly raised that Porto-Rico was but a useless and barren island, and that Florida ought to have been obtained instead. Afterwards, when it was known that Florida was actually conceded, although, in reference to this sacrifice, the French ambassador had written to his court, "*Je pleurs en vérité des larmes du sang quand je songe à tout ce qui a retardé la signature des préliminaires,*"¹ the value of the acquisition was, by the same lips, equally depreciated; and murmurs resounded for the loss of Porto-Rico. The preliminaries having been submitted to parliament, Nov. 29th, the grand debate took place on the 9th of December. The plan of attack had been in all points arranged, in a conference of four hours, which the Duke of Cumberland, *although satisfied* with the stipulations in favour of Prussia, held with Mr. Pitt, and in which he had the full powers of the Duke of Newcastle.² The peace was assailed in the House of Peers by the latter feebly and ramblingly, by Lord Temple less fervently than was his wont, by the Duke of Grafton ably but abusively, by Lord Hardwick most unmeasuredly, "*criticising minutely,*" says the Duc de Nivernois, "*every one of our articles, and valuing at zero the enormous sacrifices which we make to*

¹ Le Duc de Nivernois au Comte de Choiseul, 11 Oct. au soir.

² Duc de Nivernois au Duc de Praslin, Londres, 23 Nov. 1762.

England.”¹ To the surprise of his worst enemies, Lord Bute A.D. 1763. defended himself and it with wonderful ability and spirit; even the Duke of Cumberland admitted, that in his life he never heard so fine a speech.² What was almost equally astonishing, Lord Mansfield, whose ill offices to the peace whilst it was negotiating appear frequently in the Duke of Bedford’s correspondence, now that it was successful, and found to be so well defended, took the liberty of differing, with great regret, from those with whom he usually thought; and, after discussing the whole treaty *pro* and *con*, concluded by expressing his entire approbation of it. In the Commons, Mr. Stanley, the agent of Mr. Pitt in the former negotiation, spoke sensibly and neatly in favour of the peace now made, Mr. Townsend eloquently, Mr. Fox convincingly. The natural “Æolus of the storm” there, to use Lord Chesterfield’s metaphor, was Mr. Pitt; who, in a speech of four hours’ length, traversed a vast field of debate. Agreeably to the plan which had been arranged, he affected the absence of all party feeling, declaring that he came not there as a party man; but wishing to stand entirely alone, he appeared solely to render his individual opinion, as personal honour required him, after the part which he had taken. The great object of his speech was to depreciate the treaty by the artful contrast which he drew between it and his own negotiation, ostentatiously setting forth, in juxtaposition with the terms that had been *successfully obtained*, the higher claims which he had *fruitlessly demanded*. Notwithstanding the interest which necessarily attached to the speaker personally, as he was suffering severely from the gout the whole time of the delivery, the house, missing the fire which usually animated him, was wearied with the speech before it closed; although,

^{1 2} Duc de Nivernois au Duc de Praslin, Londres, 23 Nov. 1762.

A.D. 1763. without the walls of parliament, the excited nation was caught by his devoted patriotism, and, in a transport of sympathy with his sufferings, applauded all his arguments. The approbation of the treaty passed by a majority of 319 to 65 ; and thus the great question of the *ministry*, against which such discordant elements had been combined, was settled; the howling tempest dissipated; and the vessel of the state, so long at the apparent mercy of the winds and floods, again righted,¹ to obey for a little while longer the rudder of the steersman.

The real cause of the little strength mustered on the division by the Opposition, after all their gladiatorial efforts and play upon the public mind, may be fairly ascribed to the actual advantages of the peace, and the dishonesty of the opinions which they publicly professed. With every engagement fulfilled to her allies, and the great object and original cause of the war—the settlement of the British limits in America amply and most richly realised, England reaped from the peace of Fontainebleau benefits which took the sting from the most pointed declamations, and transferred the venom, the wormwood, and the gall, to the bosom of her former enemies. “The sacrifices made by France,” says a French writer, “were as immense as they were distressing; she renounced the point of honour she had most at heart, the restitution of the ships taken in full peace—her claims on Nova Scotia; she ceded Canada, Cape Breton, and all the isles of the St. Laurence; she consented no longer to enjoy the cod fishery, except precariously, at the pleasure of the King of England, who granted her two islets to dry her fish upon;

¹ The Duc de Nivernois had written, on the 22d and 24th of October: “Je vais me mettre à travailler pour une petite prorogation, mais je doute qu’on puisse s’en flatter. *La tempête ne fait qu’augmenter ici chaque jour, et le gouvernail est presque inutile: la signature avant le parlement, c’est en vérité la salus populi et suprema lex!*”

but with the proviso that she should raise no fortifications, A.D. 1763. nor keep for a guard there more than fifty men;—she suffered herself to be pent up, even in those possessions which had not yet been broken in upon; and a line through the middle of the whole extent of the Mississippi was to mark out the boundaries of Louisiana. In the articles of the neutral islands England made the division of the Lion; out of four parts she kept three; and only relinquished the fourth, St. Lucia, that its climate should serve as a grave to the residents that might be sent to it. In Africa she reserved Senegal, the most lucrative portion; and gave to France, in the island of Goree, the most unwelcome and destructive. In the East Indies England remained paramount: upon the coast of Coromandel and Orixa, she indeed restored the factories that had been seized upon, but in the state in which they were at the time,—dismantled, wasted, and deserted. Dunkirk, port and city, was to be reduced to the same state which the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle imposed; and English commissioners, to be paid by France, were to remain for an unlimited time upon the spot, to secure the execution of the article; whilst Spain—Spain, for interfering one moment in the dispute, was compelled to give up Florida and Pensacola; to desist from her claims to the fishery of Newfoundland; and to permit England to cut logwood in the bay of Honduras:¹—a concession which set at rest the disputes and heart-burnings of nearly one hundred years, and which loosed another link of the tenacity that bound her statesmen, as with a chain of iron, to every leaf and fragment of her occidental institutions.

But not only was the peace of 1763 neither humiliating nor inglorious to England; it was not even thought so by the greater number of those who then condemned it. Several

¹ Vie privée de Louis XV.

A.D. 1763. eminent statesmen of the time, who thus in public decried it, were known to express high approbation of it in private:¹ the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Hardwick are both stated to have termed it an excellent peace;² the uncouth declaration that escaped from Wilkes to Mr. Neville speaks volumes upon this point. Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple were perhaps the only eminent men who were consistent in their private and public invectives of it; they uniformly termed it insidious and inglorious.

From the causes, however, which have been previously detailed, a certain tone of disapprobation was given to the public mind, which, like metal in a state of fusion, readily took the form and image that was sought to be impressed upon it, and became a sort of base coinage passing current with succeeding generations; since it is not unusual yet to find writers speaking of the *dishonourable* or the *execrable* peace of 1763,³ who little suspect, that in giving utterance to such sentiments they breathe far more of the party disappointment of these earlier times than of their own independent judgment. There was something even amusing in the resolved unhappiness of society in the English capital, in consequence of the terms of peace.⁴—For those who have thought that higher terms might, and ought to have been exacted, it would be worth while to inquire, *how long* a peace so rigorous would have endured; when both the French and Spanish ministers found the actual conditions so humiliating,

¹ Adolphus; George III. vol. i. p. 100, "from indubitable authority."

² Mason's Gray; vol. ii. p. 181. Mr. Gray to Dr. Wharton.

³ Russell's Modern Europe, vol. v. p. 457.

⁴ "I must tell you," writes the French ambassador to the Duc de Praslin, Dec. 10, 1762, "between ourselves, that this peace, which they perhaps denounce at Paris, passes here for a *chef-d'œuvre* of talent on our part. You may depend on this, that at London you and your cousin pass for the two greatest

that they very early and perseveringly sought to escape from A.D. 1763. them by kindling up a fresh war with England. The expulsion of the logwood settlers on the Rio Honda in 1763, the project of a new offensive alliance between all the Bourbon branches and the houses of Austria and Sardinia in 1765, and the subsequent occupation of Corsica and the Falkland Isles, were so many proofs of their envy at the happy fortunes which England had gained by the peace, and their desire of retaliation for the restrictions imposed upon them. It was then that the wisdom of having granted Louis a reasonable peace was clearly to be seen: for the warlike intrigues of Choiseul being discovered, “he was suddenly dismissed and exiled; the advocates of war enveloped in his disgrace, and the helm of government intrusted to the Duc d’Aiguillon, his most inveterate enemy, whose continuance in office depended on the preservation of peace with England; whilst Louis XV. announced the change in a letter written with his own hand to the King of Spain, in which he briefly, but peremptorily observed, “MY MINISTER WOULD HAVE WAR, BUT I WILL NOT.”¹

All the subjects of the Duke of Bedford’s arduous negotiations being at length satisfactorily terminated—a negotiation rendered doubly difficult in its course by the distractions of the council at home, the timidity of Lord Bute, and the personal ill feeling manifested to himself by Lord Egremont, from the *liaisons* which this minister, as well as Lord Mansfield, kept up

ministers that have ever existed; and there wants but little to class me with you. The pleasant part of my story is, that I kill myself in disputations against this fancy, that we have made an easy peace, and one that could not fail to be made when the king our master was disposed to keep good faith, without reclaiming sacrifices like those which England has obtained from us. I persuade nobody; but I hope I shall be more happy *this* year at the Tuileries, when I go to read the newspaper with our opponents.”

¹ Lord Rochford to Lord Grantham; Coxe’s *Memoirs of the Kings of Spain*, vol. iii. p. 354.

A.D. 1763. with the Opposition,—a new ambassador was appointed, and the Duke of Bedford had his audience of leave at Versailles, about the 7th of June. After receiving from all quarters compliments on the occasion, he embarked for England, charged with letters from Louis to his sovereign, expressive of his high estimation of the zeal and talent which he had brought to the accomplishment of his important task, and enjoying that satisfaction which he had in view when he thus wrote to Lord Bute, on the vexatious delays interposed by Lord Egremont: “As yet, my lord, the French ministers have great confidence in me, as they know I am incapable of being the instrument of chicanery and ill faith. For God’s sake enable me to keep this good opinion of my honour and probity, and also to bring this great and good work with which I have been intrusted to a happy conclusion, that I may return home into the presence of the king, my master, to the enjoyment of my family, friends, and country, with the consciousness of having acted a part becoming a good subject, a good citizen, and an honest man.”¹

¹ Versailles, Jan. 11, 1763. The industry and avidity with which every calumny on those who had any hand in making the peace was circulated and received, encouraged the absurd charge that was afterwards brought against the Duke of Bedford and Lord Bute, of having received from France large sums of money. The slander is too base and void of foundation to require a serious reply. “After having,” Adolphus well observes, “for some years amused the public, and served as a theme to those declaimers who are always ready to repeat the grossest fables, if of a slanderous tendency, this allegation met its death in the House of Commons. It was brought forward by Dr. Musgrave, who, in a long examination, betrayed so large a portion of credulity, with so small a share of judgment, that the house, after a minute investigation (in 1770), voted his information in the highest degree frivolous, and unworthy of credit.” The editor of the Duc de Nivernois’ works speaks also of the charge with great indignation, as a gross insult on the French ministers.

CHAPTER XXVI.

FROM THE RESIGNATION OF THE EARL OF BUTE TO THE DEATH OF
THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

A.D. 1763—1771.

Resignation of Lord Bute, April 1763 ... his overtures to the Duke of Bedford declined ... The duke requires his entire removal from all public business, August ... accepts the presidency of the council, November 2 ... Marquess of Tavistock ... his correspondence with Lord Ossory ... his marriage, June 9, 1764 ... Proceedings of the Grenville administration ... State of parties ... Lord Bute's return to court, March 1764, and subsequent intrigues ... Animosity of the Bute and Bedford parties ... Regency-bill, May 1765 ... Tumult of silk-weavers, May 14-19 ... Interview of the ministry with the king ... Failure of the Duke of Cumberland's negotiation ... Assent to the ministry's requisitions ... Continuance of the cabals at court ... Duke of Bedford's interview with the king, June 12 ... Formation of the Rockingham administration, July 10 ... Duke of Bedford in Paris, August ... is elected chancellor of the University of Dublin, November ... Deaths of the Marquess and Marchioness of Tavistock ... Overtures from the Pitt administration, November 1766 ... repeated, July 1767 ... Unsuccessful attempt at a coalition of the Opposition parties ... Accession of the Bedford party, January 1768 ... Return of Wilkes ... Intrigues of the popular party at Bedford, September 1769. Declining health of the Duke of Bedford, September 1770 ... his death, January 15, 1771.

THE declamations of the parliamentary Opposition against A.D. 1763. the peace, and the murmurs of a people misled by the darkest arts of faction, had been successfully combated and silenced; and the yet more diffusive clamour against the cider-tax, the great financial measure of the session, had been equally surmounted by the ministry; when Lord Bute resigned his power, like another Sylla, if we were to believe his enemies: for every stroke of satire and rancorous severity

A.D. 1763. that might have been employed to paint the Roman dictator, had been lavished on the Scottish favourite, by the party writers who had been so industriously taught to detest and to assail him. The Duke of Bedford was still at Paris when the tidings reached him, in a letter from the minister, full as curious as the step itself was singular and sudden.¹ By

¹ EARL OF BUTE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London, April 2, 1763.

My dear Lord,—I am now going to trouble your grace for the last time, in all probability, on politics, as I shall be out of office, and a private man, before I can be honoured with any return. The subject I am going to take forces me to write about myself much more than I wish to do; and for this reason I hope you will excuse it.

To enter, therefore, into matter,—I take the liberty of observing to your grace, that when the Duke of Newcastle went out, and I found myself under a necessity to accept my present situation, I did it with the utmost reluctance; and nothing but the king's safety and independency could have made me acquiesce in a way of life so opposite to every feeling; nor did I kiss the king's hand till I had received his solemn promise to be permitted to go out when peace was once attained. Thanks to kind Providence and your grace's abilities, that day is now come; and well it is so! for, independent of all other private considerations, the state of my health is such, and any constant application to business is declared to be so fatal to me, that I find myself under the unpleasant necessity of putting my much-loved sovereign in mind of his promise. I have done so; and after scenes that I can never forget, his tenderness to me has got the better of his partiality to my poor endeavours to serve him, and he approves my determination.

Since this, I have often talked with his majesty on the subject of a new administration; and he is come to the final resolution of putting the treasury into Mr. Grenville's hands, as the only person in the House of Commons in whom he can confide so great a trust; Mr. Fox having taken the king's word, when he first entered on the management of his affairs, that, the peace made, he might be permitted to go to the House of Lords.

Three things the king is determined to abide by, and to make the basis of his future administration, as they have been of his present. First, never, upon any account, to suffer those ministers of the late reign, who have attempted to fetter and enslave him, ever to come into his service while he lives to hold the sceptre. Secondly, to collect every other force, and above all, that of your grace and Mr. Fox, to his councils and support. Thirdly, to shew all proper countenance to the country gentlemen acting on Whig principles, and on these principles only supporting his government. It is

this the duke was desired, in the king's name, to come to A.D. 1763. England, that he might take part in the arrangements for

proposed to offer Mr. Townshend the Admiralty, Lord Granby, Ireland. And now, my lord, I am desired by his majesty, who has directed the contents of this letter, earnestly to press your grace to preside at his councils; the king intending to give (in that case) the privy seal to Lord Gower.

And now, my dear lord, need I make use of many arguments to prevail on the Duke of Bedford to assist his young sovereign with his weight and name,—that sovereign who has not a wish but what terminates in this country's happiness; and who, since he mounted the throne, has shewn ever the highest regard and predilection for the Duke of Bedford, who, from the state of my health, is now to form a new government, that will have to struggle, not, in my opinion, with a very formidable opposition, but with titles and estates, and names like a Pitt and a Legge, that impose on an ignorant populace, who are every hour declaring this great peace, the salvation of an almost ruined country, dishonourable, inadequate, unwise, hollow, &c., and have endeavoured, with the utmost malice, to arraign all honest men who had any hand in it. Shall such men give this prince the law? and will the Duke of Bedford look tamely on when loudly called on to defend his king, his country, and the cause of truth and honour? I hope not. I hope even your grace will not be pleased to find me expatiate so long on such a point; but I hope to be excused, both from the importance of it, and the anxiety with which I have orders to mention it. I know Lord Egremont has orders to send your grace permission to come over; and I am particularly directed to insinuate, that the sooner your conveniency permits it, in the present case, the better.

Having thus obeyed my orders, I beg leave to add a few words more concerning myself. Far be it from me to think that I am in any shape necessary to the king's government, or that my place cannot be even much better supplied by any other arrangement. But I do not stop here. I am firmly of opinion that my retirement will remove the only unpopular part of government,—*cecidit in vivos livor; post fata quiescet*: and, I once gone, it will be very hard for me to believe that the Duke of Newcastle will, with Lord Hardwicke, &c. &c. continue a violent or peevish opposition, in order to make Lord Temple, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Legge, ministers of this country—the sole purpose he now declares he has in view. I fondly hope, therefore, I shall, in my retiring, do my royal master much more service than I could have performed by continuing in office. But this letter exceeds all bounds: I therefore end it, with desiring your grace to accept my hearty thanks for all the instances I have received of your friendship; and to believe that, on the word of an honest man, I have never once ceased, since his majesty's accession, to treat your grace's interest as my own, and to do every thing in my power to convince you of the high regard with which I am, and ever shall be, my dear lord, your grace's most obedient humble servant,

BUTE.

A.D. 1763. a new ministry, over the councils of which he was solicited to preside,—or, as perhaps it should rather be described, the same ministry, with such slight changes only as might be necessary in consequence of Lord Bute's secession, until the ferment against him should subside, and he might again ostensibly assume the power¹ which, with great show of truth, he was henceforth believed secretly to exercise. To the Duke of Bedford such a proposal presented no temptation. As many of his letters indicate, he knew that he had received numerous ill offices from Lord Egremont, and justly suspected that he had been ill supported by the minister himself, notwithstanding the apparent warmth of his professions. By the various high employments he had filled, every ambition of his heart had been gratified; the love of ease was stealing on him; and now that he had seen that peace secured to his country upon which his warmest wishes had been set, he was not indifferent to the satisfaction which, by a partial retirement, he might derive from home enjoyments and his favourite agricultural pursuits. Independently of these considerations, the sudden dereliction of power by one for whom he had hazarded so much, must have had all the air of an ungenerous desertion: nor could he have any confidence in the stability of a ministry constituted on a basis so restricted as that now proposed. His first impulse therefore was to refuse compliance with the request for his return; but a desire probably to shew no disrespect to what purported to be the wishes of his sovereign, suspended this intention, and after despatching his reply to the letter of

¹ The Duc de Nivernois, so early as September 24, 1762, makes this remarkable observation, which has all the force of prophecy—"Le roi qui l'aime véritablement, ne le sacrifiera jamais que dans l'espérance de le reprendre un jour."—*Œuvres de Nivernois*, tom. ii. p. 42.

Lord Bute,¹ he made arrangements for his journey. On A.D. 1763. the 11th he embarked from Boulogne, and on the 13th had his interview with Lord Bute; the particulars of which, beyond his refusal to concur in the contemplated arrangement, do not transpire from his papers; but it must have been sufficiently embarrassing to the earl, if coloured with any of that displeasure which the duke had thrown into some of his letters. The latter had therefore returned to Paris with no other alteration being effected than placing George Grenville at the head of the treasury. In June, however, Lord Sandwich, who had been destined for the embassy to Spain, was made first lord of the Admiralty, a step which might

¹ DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE EARL OF BUTE.

(Private.)

Paris, April 7, 1763.

My dear Lord,—Some hours after I had made up my letter to the Earl of Egremont, explaining that I had written to his lordship the 30th of last month, desiring leave to be absent from Paris for a short space, as intended for a tour into the provinces, and not to England, where I had no thoughts of returning before the end of my embassy, I found myself honoured with your lordship's letter of the 2d inst., by Long, the messenger; and it gave me real concern to find your lordship should think yourself under a necessity of quitting the king's service for the reasons you mention in your letter, and more particularly so at this time, when I see his majesty endeavouring to form an administration composed almost entirely of the same persons as the last, though placed in different employments, which must consequently be inevitably weaker than the last, by the loss of your lordship out of it, and of Mr. Fox in the House of Commons, and by the sole addition of the Earl of Shelburne, whose weight (though he was not in place) was known to be thrown into the scale of administration.

With regard to myself, I was determined, even had your lordship continued minister (whose friendship to me I had not the least reason to doubt, having been so repeatedly assured of it by you), to have quitted entirely the king's service on my return to England from my mission, during which, in the course of very difficult negotiations, I had received so many marks of ill-will, as more than once endangered the success of them. Judge, then, my lord, whether, after the loss of so good a friend as your lordship in the king's council, and the consequent advancement of so many of those who wish me ill, I should not deserve to be treated as a madman, should I take the place of president of the council, in an administration which I know cannot last,

A.D. 1763. be designed to conciliate the duke before his final return to England. But though disposed, at the instances of Mr. Fox and Lord Gower, to forego his causes of dissatisfaction with Lord Egremont, nothing could convince him that he had been well supported by Lord Bute; and additional light being afterwards thrown upon this nobleman's duplicity towards him, his indignation and aversion were so strongly excited, that when a second time applied to, to know upon what terms he would join the ministry, he, on the 11th of August, being then at Woodstock, forwarded to town by Mr. Rigby these conditions: "Lord Bute's entire absence from the king's counsels and presence; Mr. Pitt's willingness to come into administration with me, with such a

and which, consequently, must throw the king our master, a few months hence, into greater difficulties than he is in at present. For God's sake persuade his majesty to widen the basis of administration; and if he has a mind to keep those out of his cabinet who have behaved to him with the least respect, let the Dukes of Newcastle, Devonshire, and Grafton, Earl Hardwicke, &c. be called again into his majesty's service. I cannot be suspected of partiality to all those lords; but I think the future happiness of his majesty's reign depends so much on the measures he now takes, that I think myself obliged, as an honest man, and as a faithful and (if I may say it) an affectionate servant of his majesty, to write my mind thus freely to your lordship. Employments to satisfy these great lords you have enough,—master of the horse, president of the council, privy seal, embassy to France: and indeed, my dear lord, what I now write of my resolution not to be in employment, is not out of vanity; but I am determined to serve the king in parliament, and as a private man, with the same zeal and affection as when in his service. As I am very sure that my coming to England at present can be of no utility, and as my presence here may possibly be of some, I hope his majesty will excuse my going to England before the end of my embassy, which I trust will be by the beginning of June; my own private affairs, very much deranged in the Isle of Ely, requiring my presence during the whole summer season.

I am, &c. &c.

BEDFORD.

P. S. Upon reconsidering that part of your lordship's letter which relates to my immediate setting out for England, as insinuating his majesty's desire of my doing so, I will endeavour, if possible, to set out the day after tomorrow; and am this instant going to Versailles, to inform the ministers of it.

B.

number of his present friends as shall make it possible to A.D. 1763. carry on the public business, upon the present system of a coalition of parties; and his concurrence to maintain the present peace, and to come into such a plan for foreign affairs as may tend to that result.”¹ Mr. Calcraft was the messenger who carried them to Hayes; his conference with Mr. Pitt was on the 15th: it lasted for three hours;² but the particulars being communicated to the Duke of Bedford at Woburn on the 17th, by Mr. Rigby, *vivâ voce*, do not transpire. All that is known for certainty is this: that Mr. Pitt “spoke of the duke with every mark of respect; but found himself under such engagements with his associates of the other great Whig families, that he could not stir without them; and that the interview terminated with solemn assurances on both sides that the whole visit should be kept an inviolable secret.”³ On the 21st, a few days after, the death of Lord Egremont created a second vacancy in the cabinet; and the king, through Lord Bute, entered into a negotiation with Mr. Pitt, which he suddenly terminated, because the extensive basis upon which the latter proposed to build a ministry, was at variance with his own system, of never reviving the power of those great parties which, in his view, had subjected his grandfather to so much dictation. It was broken off; and, at their next meeting, the Pitt, Newcastle, Devonshire, and Rockingham parties agreed upon a systematic opposition to the Court;⁴ which having by this last manœuvre alienated also most of the members of the existing cabinet, was now reduced to a very critical position.

In this exigence, the Earl of Bute resorted to Mr. Fox,

¹ Bedford Papers. ²³ Mr. Rigby to the Duke of Bedford, Aug. 15, 1763.

⁴ Letters to and from Lady Suffolk, vol. ii. p. 277.

A.D. 1763. now Lord Holland, for advice. His counsel was, to continue the present ministers, and to fill up the two vacant offices by the Duke of Bedford and Lord Sandwich; but as it was obvious that Lord Bute could not appear in a negotiation with the first, Lord Holland undertook it for him. He appears to have commenced by securing the appointment of Lord Sandwich to the secretaryship, and of Lord Egmont to the head of the admiralty in his room. He then tried, with great address, to prevail upon the duke to abate his hostility to Lord Bute, but finding this impracticable, and that he would give ear to no proposal that did not contemplate that nobleman's entire removal from all influence with the king, it became necessary to report this obstacle to the sovereign. The king's consent to such a stipulation, it may well be surmised, was not obtained without difficulty; but the manifest impossibility of gathering sufficient strength to an administration that should exclude the other great leaders, without conciliating to it some popularity by the marked exclusion of his late minister, may have gone far in reconciling George the Third to such a sacrifice. But, whatever may have been the predisposing considerations, it is certain that the sovereign authorised the offer to the duke of the presidency of the council, with the "promise of excluding Lord Bute from his presence, and from any participation in public affairs."¹ Lord Sandwich upon this went down to Woburn, with the hope of overcoming any remaining scruple which the Duke of Bedford might yet entertain. He found one of his greatest objections removed by this promise; but that he was still most sensible of the grave difficulties which so restricted a ministry would have to encounter from the rage of party,—the great question of the legality of general warrants being already opened by the

¹ Duke of Bedford to the Duke of Marlborough; May 19, 1765.

committal to the tower of Mr. Wilkes, and Lord Temple having A.D. 1763.
received his dismissal from the lord-lieutenancy of Bucks, from the open patronage which he had extended to that "chartered libertine." Lord Sandwich, therefore, returned without obtaining more than his promise to support a ministry that should be formed upon such an understanding. When fresh efforts were made to secure his accession, "the Duke of Bedford insisted upon Lord Holland's promising, in the name of Lord Bute (for which he had the earl's authority), that his lordship would not in future interfere, intrigue, or disturb the present ministers, in any department of their offices, in any of their recommendations to the king, or in any of the measures of government."¹ Being satisfied with the assurances which he received upon this score, and pressed by farther letters from Mr. Grenville and Lord Sandwich, he at length signified his dutiful assent to the king's wishes.² Lord Sandwich's appointment was accordingly publicly notified on

¹ Almon's Biographical Anecdotes, vol. ii. p. 36.

² The following are Mr. Grenville's letter and the duke's answer to Lord Sandwich.

RIGHT HON. GEORGE GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Downing Street, Sept. 5, 1763.

My Lord,—It was with infinite pleasure that I received from Lord Sandwich the account of your grace's resolution to give every support in your power to the system which the king has been pleased to form for carrying on his government in the present difficult conjuncture,—a resolution worthy your grace's character, and the attachment you have always shewn to his majesty and the constitution of his kingdom. The situation in which this country was left at the happy close of the late ruinous war, and the spirit of license and disorder which has attended it, and which has since been so industriously augmented, demand the strictest union in all who wish to put a stop to an evil that threatens equally the king and his people. This consideration, enforced by your grace's example, and supported by your authority and abilities, will, I doubt not, open the eyes of many, in an hour of so much public danger, not only to the honour and lawful rights of the crown, but to the peace and happiness of the kingdom. I am confident that the king feels very sensibly this signal instance of your grace's zeal and affection, at a time when the exertion of them is so necessary for the good of the whole. Allow

A.D. 1763. the 9th of September, Lord Egmont's on the 10th, and his own acceptance of the presidency of the council on the 2d of November, a few days after the opening of parliament. When these arrangements were all made, Lord Bute prepared to fulfil his part of the treaty, and retired—with what feelings I will not presume to surmise—to his estate in Bedfordshire.

After dwelling so long, although so necessarily, on the turbulent distractions of politics and party, it may form an agreeable relief to pause for a moment on the expanding character of one who from native gentleness of disposition, seemed formed rather to shed lustre on the shades of private life, than to tempt the stormy heights of state-ambition. Francis, Marquess of Tavistock, the only son of the Duke of Bedford, was at this period twenty-four years of age. The habits of his life were so retired and so purely domestic, that

me, however, my lord, to express my earnest wishes that you would be prevailed upon to give your *name*, as well as your weight and influence, to the support of the king's government, at the head of his councils. The great and solid advantages that must be derived from it in every light are so evident, that it is unnecessary to enforce them; they will, I hope, be sufficient to excuse me for expressing my sentiments upon them to your grace in this manner, as they weigh so strongly with me, that though I think it extremely desirable to fill up that great office, if possible, without a moment's delay, yet I cannot advise any farther step to be taken in it, whilst I have any hopes of its being filled up so honourably and so beneficially to the king's service; and I own I cannot help flattering myself that, upon mature consideration, your grace may still comply with it. It is impossible for me to put an end to this letter without begging leave to return my sincerest acknowledgments and thanks for the favourable opinion which I had the pleasure of hearing from Lord Sandwich that your grace entertained of me, and the obliging terms in which you expressed it: I shall always be ambitious to deserve, and happy to maintain it, and, consequently, extremely desirous to obey your commands to the utmost of my power. What Lord Sandwich mentioned to me about Mr. Vernon may, I hope, be brought to bear in some shape that may be agreeable to him. I understood with the utmost satisfaction from his lordship, that your grace would come to town as soon as ever these arrangements have taken place; I must hope it will be *before* they have taken

but few traces exist of him in his father's correspondence, A.D. 1763. beyond scattered indications which evince how studiously he avoided the bustle and strife of political parties, and how devotedly he attached himself to that circle of chosen friends by whom he was beloved to enthusiasm. Yet, he was by no means desirous to lead an idle or inglorious life; for, after leaving the University of Cambridge, the militia-bill being just passed, considering that array as the constitutional force of the country, which it was the duty of every nobleman to render as perfect as possible in his own sphere of influence, he gave up his whole mind and time to the levies of his native county, and succeeded to admiration in giving it full efficiency, and in conciliating to its support the varied opposition which it at first encountered. Accompanying his father into Ireland in 1759, he took a part of some activity in the Irish House of Commons. He afterwards went upon his

place; but whenever it shall be, I beg your grace will allow me to have the honour of waiting upon you as soon after as is convenient to you at Bedford House, that I may receive your advice in person, and assure you that I am, with the highest respect and most perfect regard, my lord,

Your grace's most obedient and most faithful humble servant,

GEORGE GRENVILLE.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO LORD SANDWICH.

Woburn Abbey, September 6, 1763.

My dear Lord,—Though the same reasons still subsist which induced me, when I saw you last at the Abbey, to decline entering again into public business, to which the indolence of my disposition likewise disinclines me, yet my duty to the king, and my desire to support the administration he is now forming, will oblige me to give up, not only my opinion, but my inclination, to his will; and therefore, if his majesty shall still continue to think that my coming at present into his service may be of essential use to the strengthening the administration, I shall most willingly acquiesce to it, in whatever employment he shall judge proper. I am, my dear Lord,

Your most faithful humble servant, B.

P. S. Ten at night. I have waited till now in expectation of your second messenger, but cannot defer closing this letter any longer, to let you know I intend to be in town on Thursday evening, and that I will wait upon you to dinner on Friday.

A.D. 1763. travels, not as most young men of rank and fashion, traversing rapidly the countries which he visited, in his *chaise-roulante*, or stopping only for the luxuries of society and amusement in the gayest coteries and cities, but, with the best travelling-guides at his elbow, seeking out, for the cultivation of his taste in the fine arts, the cities, monasteries, palaces, and churches, where the best works of the great masters in architecture, painting, and sculpture, were erected or deposited. These he examined with critical minuteness, and recorded his remarks in numerous marginal notes of the “Voyage d’Italie” of Cochin, which evince the possession of an accurate eye, a refined taste, and a most solid judgment, very remarkable in one so young. At home, he was the intimate friend and companion of our great artist, Sir Joshua Reynolds; and we may be certain, that the society of this celebrated man must have greatly tended to improve his taste. He was still in Italy when the Earl of Bristol was recalled from Madrid: understanding at Florence that Spain had begun hostilities, thinking it possible that she might meditate a descent on England, and being pledged to the regiment which he commanded, to be with them in the event of any extraordinary emergency, he wrote instantly to his “best of fathers,” requesting him to consider how much his honour would suffer by his loitering even in the regions which he loved, whilst such a danger might be impending over his country. His mind being set at ease on this subject, he continued his pilgrimage of improvement till the autumn of 1762. Having been elected to parliament for his native county on coming of age, he now resumed his attendance at the House of Commons: on the 26th of November in that year, he moved an address of congratulation to the queen on the birth of a prince, and waited upon her with it on the

following day. But though forcing his mind to an attendance A.D. 1763.
upon these political duties, his heart was still amidst the
dazzling enchantments created by the great Florentine and
Roman masters; and being at this period applied to by his
friend and cousin, Lord Ossory (a young nobleman who, it
appears, greatly resembled him both in person and in mind¹),
for some guiding hints to direct him in a journey which
he was about to take across the Alps, he addressed to him
in succession the following interesting letters, the effect of
which we will not prejudice by any unnecessary intervening
comments.

MARQUESS OF TAVISTOCK TO THE EARL OF UPPER OSSORY.

Paris, Sept. 12, 1763.

I cannot help communicating to you, my dear Ossory, some
few ideas of what is to be seen in Italy, as perhaps some of them
are upon things which neither your books mention, nor those you
meet with there will tell you of. There are some of the finest
things in all Italy, which, from being a little out of the routine that
travellers generally follow, are often overlooked; and you must
not depend upon your *cicerone's* advice of what is to be seen, any
further than what relates to his own town.

I suppose you arrived at Lyons, where there is not much to be
seen except a fine town, and a still finer situation. There is, how-
ever, a picture by Rubens at a little church there, and at a convent
of Carmelites a very good Le Brun. The Chartreux is a little
higher up the hill, and must be seen for its fine view: if you have
a mind to see *le Grand Chartreux*, you must quit the great road at
Les Echelles, the first post in Savoy, and about two hours will carry
you there,—I would advise you by all means to see it. The
entrance into the Alps, upon quitting Pont Beauvoisin, is, perhaps,
one of the finest spots in it; a little on this side of Chamberry is a
very fine cascade; the *Bois de Bramant*, about two posts from
the foot of Mont Cenis, is the wildest of all the views in this whole
country; at Susa is a triumphal arch, very entire, and which you

¹ Lord Orford's Works, vol. v. p. 644. Duke to the Duchess of Bedford,
July, 1765.

A.D. 1763. will like to see, as being the first monument of Roman grandeur you meet with,—a man coming from Italy would hardly deign to look at it. I believe Fenestrelles, which is some way from the road, is very well worth seeing, but that must be done from Turin, as you must have the king's order to visit it; some of those fortresses in the mountain should certainly be seen. At Turin, the king's palace will amuse you very well; it is, even for Italy, an exceeding fine collection of pictures, and the palace beats Versailles for magnificence; the Superga must be seen on a fine day; the Duke of Savoy's palace, the chapel of S^to Suario, and two or three more churches, are worth seeing; the two first (though not correct), are in a great and ingenious style: the king's country-houses should also be seen, especially the *Venerie*; the garden of the Valentin will please you. If you go from hence to Genoa you have nothing worth your attention, till you pass the mountain of the Borchetta and enter the valley of Genoa, and it will be very well worth observing, particularly the astonishing difference of the climate, and the products of the earth on the north and south sides. The Genoese, (though esteemed rogues, even in Italy), I own appeared to me better than their neighbours. The pictures here are fine; the Rubens' and Vandycks are here in great perfection. Observe well the works of the three Procaccinis, it is only here you meet with them in perfection, and indeed they have great merit. At the Annonciata there is a *Last Supper* by J. Cesare, the best of the three, which is worthy of all admiration; in the palace Brignole, observe a *Judith and Holofernes* by P. Veronese; it is amongst his first works. It is at Genoa also that you must get acquainted with Capucino and Preti Genovese, two masters who have great merit, especially for fire and colouring. Don't let your eyes be too much dazzled with the beautiful tints which the masters you see here excel in; believe me, a knowledge of and taste for colouring comes always soon enough; it is character, attitude, and drawing, that are the most difficult to teach one's self to admire; it is for the same reason that I would have you see Bologna and Rome before Venice.

At Placentia, (for I shall observe the route I went, in speaking of the different places; if you don't do the same, it will make no difference),—at Placentia, I say, you must see two equestrian

statues in the Piazza ; I did not much like them myself, but they are much admired, and I believe with great reason. You must absolutely see S^{to} Augustino, a church built by my favourite architect Vignola. Pavia is not a great way off, and I believe is worth seeing. From hence to Parma you see the richest parts of Lombardy, the most fruitful but the most disagreeable country in the world. Here you have the only opportunity in all the world of studying Corregio ; if you cannot taste all the beauties of his *Holy Family*, you may despair of ever loving painting ; his cupola at the dome or cathedral, though almost spoilt, is very well worth a most, most exact examination. It is here only that Parmegiano's works are seen in perfection ; you must also see the Palazzo Giardino. A.D. 1763.

At Reggio are some good pictures, but they may be seen in a few hours ; at Modena you must absolutely see a favourite picture of mine of a *Holy Family* by Guido,—it is at the cathedral. At Bologna you cannot enough study the masters of that school ; be assured there is no spot in Italy where they are seen in such perfection : Paulino, the *cicerone* and *valet de place*, will shew you every thing extremely intelligently ; three weeks or a month should be given at least to Bologna. My favourite pictures there are Domenichino's *St. Agnese*, Raphael's *St. Cecilia*, Guercino's *Circumcision*, Guido's *St. Peter*, and his *Crucifixion* at the Capuchins' convent, and the Caracci's in the Palazzo Zampieri. Cento is not far off, and should be seen for Guercino's works ; *our Saviour appearing to the Virgin*, at the church del Nome di Dio, is amongst his first works. At Bologna, study well Tiarini and Cavedone, they are fine masters ; and the large pictures of Albani.

At Florence you begin to admire statuary, and I wish the famous *Venus* may strike you at first. Here you see John di Bologna in all his glory, and the Tuscan architecture. See every thing that is antique in the gallery ; you will find a very complete collection of Roman instruments of sacrifice, urns, funeral lamps, tripods, &c. and will begin to form an idea, from observing them, of their manners and customs. Get acquainted with young Cocchi, who has an employment in the gallery ; he has parts, and is very much informed ; Mr. Beaclerck I think will like him. Patch, an English painter, knows best the pictures to be seen in the churches,

A.D. 1763. &c.; make him shew you some old frescos in a church not far from his house, from which Raphael has evidently borrowed many of his ideas of heads and attitudes. Volterrano and Bronzino are two masters who are particularly to be studied here; Andrea del Sarto is only to be seen here, he is a very great master upon the whole; there is an old Florentine painter, called Gio Giovanni, who has merits. The gardens and environs of Florence are the most beautiful that can be imagined,—that of Boboli you *must* see; the Abbate Pillori is the best language-master in the world. Do lodge at Charles Hatfield's. It is in the Palazzo Pitti here that you will see the master-pieces of Pietro di Cortona and his scholar, Ciro Ferri.

The road from hence to Leghorn, by Lucca and Pisa, will amuse you, from the beauty of the country; at Lucca are a few pictures; at Leghorn nothing that has any pretensions to *virtù*, except the statue upon the quay. Pisa is worth examining for the works it contains of the ancient Florentine masters, and the size and riches of the Gothic buildings; the whole town serves to bring before one's eyes the extravagant superstition of the age of the crusades. Sienna will amuse you from the same reasons; the *Place* there must be seen, from its particularity. Between Sienna and Rome, observe the wild savage prospect from Radicofani, and the beautiful romantic appearance of Acqua Pendente; it is perfectly a landscape of Gaspar Poussin's. When you come to the lake of Bolsena you first begin to tread classic ground; and from hence to Rome, every rivulet and every mountain has been immortalised by the Roman authors. You must see Capraruolo, a castle belonging to the Farnese family, not far from Ronciglione; I did not see it myself, and most heartily repent of it.

At Rome, *virtù* is so much the occupation of every body, that you are in no danger of missing any thing for want of information. Here, and only here, every thing antique is to be met with in perfection. What you are shewn in the other towns of Italy, is no more to be compared with the antiquities of Rome, than a town-house of a country town in England to the Banqueting-house at London, or the statues in a country church to the monuments of Westminster Abbey. You have at Rome also an opportunity of studying the great masters of the different schools, for they all

painted in the capital of Italy ; while in the other towns, only the A.D. 1763.
works of their own masters are found in perfection. It is, consequently, a place to study the different hands, as you can compare their different manners together, by having them all assembled before your eyes. Let me beg you to see the great works over and over again ; you will not think your time lost. Believe me, three months is the least you can see every thing in, and if you had time to read some of the classics, it were well. The environs of Rome will amuse you beyond description ; at Tivoli you will see my favourite little temple, called the Sibyl's, and cannot miss admiring it : the view from your inn window, and that from the villa of Quintilius Varus, of the *Cascatelle*, are beyond even imagination ; they should both be seen with a setting sun. Observe very narrowly Adrian's villa, which is about two miles from hence ; it will give you the most perfect idea of the Roman manners of any remains I know of. The little lake Albula, with its floating islands, is not far off. At Frascati (the ancient Tusculum) you see the ruins of Lucullus' magnificence, and a beautiful mosaic pavement in what is supposed to have been Tully's villa ; they also shew you the spot where they say Hannibal encamped when he marched for Rome. At Monte Dracone, a villa just by, is, I am told, a most exceeding fine colossal bust, antique ; about a league off is a chapel painted by Domenichino ; the *Curing the possessed Boy* is one of his first works ; the groups are finely composed, though, perhaps, they are too much separated : the head of the boy, I own, I prefer to the famous one of Raphael's in his *Transfiguration*. You cannot enough observe this fresco, especially as it is very little known comparatively with its merits. The lake called *Speculum Dianæ*, Castel-Gandolfo, Lerici, are all extremely worth seeing, and, indeed, every view in this beautiful ridge of mountains forms a landscape. Gaspar Poussin profited so much from them, that every one of his pictures may fairly be taxed with being mere copies of this country. I had forgot to tell you, Raphael at Rome, and every where else, is so different, as hardly to be known for the same master. Get acquainted with Mr. Crespin and Hamilton the painter ; they will be very useful to you : remember to lodge, if possible, on the Piazza di Spagna.

The road from Rome to Naples will amuse you very much, from

A.D. 1763. its fine views, especially that part of it which is between Velletri and Capua; you should have your Virgil and Horace constantly in your hand, for this road was so much known to the Romans, from its leading to Baiæ, &c. that there is not a brook or hill that remains unsung; you will also have the pleasure of travelling on the same bad road the ancients did, for the pavement of the Via Appia is literally the same as laid by them. At Marino (a few posts from Rome), you must see a most noble picture of Guercino's at the great church, though it is almost spoilt: at a little church in the same town, is a good Guido of *the Trinity*. At Garigliano you pass the ancient Liris; remember Horace's description of this river, and see the exactness and precision of the epithets of the Roman poets. From Mola you may cross a branch of the sea and see Gaeta (a very extraordinary fortress, as I am told), and return in a few hours. Capua is large, but, I believe, has nothing curious; the ancient town stood at about a mile's distance.

Naples stands upon such classic ground, that what you have to see is more in the environs than in the town itself. The bay of Pozzuoli is surrounded with curiosities of natural and ancient history; make them shew you what they call the ruins of a temple of Serapis; it will give you the best idea of the disposition of their temples of any ruin I know, for the floor remains entire. All the other things here are too well known to be forgot to be shewn you. Virgil's tomb, alas! is but too well proved to be impossible to be his. On the other side of the town lie Portici and Mount Vesuvius; the first you will not want any temptation to examine, and I can assure you the latter is worth ascending in a fine day, for the view you have from the top. There are some curious things round Naples which I did not see—the island of Caprea, if you are there in summer. Pæstum, about two days' journey to the south, has some ancient Grecian ruins; I believe it is the only one of their colonies in Italy that remains. The *Fauces Caudinæ*, where the Samnites made the Roman army pass under the yoke, is not far off. Caserto is an immense new-built palace of the King of Naples, in a very bad taste. You may return to Rome by Monte Cassino, a road I believe well worth seeing, though, for people that are not hurried, I should think by sea must be the most agreeable, since it is exactly following Æneas's route. Spagnuololetto, Caravaggio, and

Calabrese, are three masters to be studied at Naples; they are A.D. 1763. much in the same style, but have very great merits; a picture by the former at the Certosa, may fairly be called a capital one. Solimene's best works will please you, in spite of the hardness of his shades. Domenichino was too much persecuted at Naples to be able to paint at his ease; consequently, his works only shew by great strokes, which sometimes break forth, from how great a master they come. Here is a painter whose works are little known from their scarcity, but who has infinite merit,—it is Schedone. His manner is something of Corregio's; his colouring not so rich, but equally clear, and transparent in his shades; his characters far from noble, but natural and pleasing. His great works are not his best; it is at Capo del Monte, a palace of the king's, that he is to be studied. There is also there a small cameo of Perseus's head, a fragment that is one of the most beautiful I know—observe it very well: indeed, all this collection, especially the pictures, merit a most particular attention.

The road from Rome back to Bologna by Loretto, should be gone in the fine time of the year, that the natural beauties of it may be seen in perfection; it is, in my opinion, the most romantically beautiful part of Italy. The ancient bridge at Narni, the cascade at Terni, the aqueduct at Spoleto, and the small temple of Clitumnus, on the banks of that river, at a little place called *Le Vene*, must all be seen: the latter is little known, but is of the most beautiful proportions and highest finishing for its size, which is very small. It is made a modern chapel of, and consequently patched. At Foligno is a most noble picture of Raphael's, though painted before he gained that greatness and freedom of pencil which characterise him at Rome. From Foligno, to go to Perugia, and see Hannibal's battle at the Lake Thrasymene, will perhaps, on the whole, take you two or three days. I think it will answer, from the fineness of the country you go through; and some very good pictures you will see at Perugia. At the lake, you must make them carry you to the *Pie dei Confini*, where your Livy will be a much better explainer than any peasant you will find there. Cortona is two or three leagues off, but I believe has nothing very curious. At Perugia you will see in the cathedral a *Descent from the Cross*, by Baroccio; it is perhaps his master-piece, and that is suf-

A.D. 1763. ficient to declare its merits. At the Augustines' convent are some good things by P. Perugino; and there are also some at San Pietro; and in the sacristy, a small *Virgin and Child*, called Raphael's, which has merit. I am particular in speaking of Perugia, as there is nobody there that knows the name of a single master. Do admire the Baroccio, for it is one of my first favourites. Upon your return to Foligno, observe a little village about four miles from the town, on the Loretto road; it is the most beautiful natural landscape I ever saw in any country. At Loretto are some good pictures, particularly an Annibal Caracci in the treasury. At Ancona you must see Trajan's beautiful arch on the mole; at Sinigallia, Fano, and Pesaro, are some pictures which should be seen, particularly those of Baroccio's; for it is only in this country that the great works of this master are found: excuse at first a little unnatural colouring, wild ideas, and forced attitudes; and his softness of pencil, his originality, and the sweetness of his characters, must please you. His manner is, perhaps, neither great nor natural, and, however sensible one may be of two such essential defects, there is still an agreeableness in his execution that makes one admire him, even in spite of one's reason. At Rimini you must see the bridge and triumphal arch, though their antiquity is their greatest merit.

Near the town you pass the Rubicon, in the same place as Cæsar did, according to the testimony of a pillar which is set up there; but after travelling a few miles further, you find another river, and another town that pretend to the same honour. The little republic of Marino is not far from hence: I did not see it, but should think it curious enough to see if there are really any remains of the ancient Italian liberty and virtue. At Forli, Faenza, and Imola, are some good pictures.

In going from Bologna to Ferrara you must pass by Cento, where are some good pictures of Guercino's; that at the church, called Nome di Dio, is amongst his first. Ferrara is a curious old town: a favourite old master of mine is here in all his perfection; it is Benvenuto Garofalo; his pictures here deserve a particular attention. At Francolino, a post off, you embark upon the Po, and go in about fifteen hours to Venice. It is here you will satiate your eyes with the most bewitching colouring in the world. Titian,

Tintoret, and P. Veronese, will astonish you. Be sure to take a fine day for La Scuola di San Marco, as it is very dark. Tintoret's picture of *St. Mark succouring a Saint* who is martyrising, when seen in a good light, is one of the finest things in nature. Some of the old masters, particularly Gian. Bellini, will strike you. Palladio's buildings must all be seen. There is a palace here in the Canal Grande—the name I have forgot—where is the best collection of casts from the antique statues I know of: you will be pleased to see all your old friends assembled. Venice is the most calculated for luxurious idleness of any place I know; and therefore very dangerous for you. The banks of the Brenta, in the way to Padua, are much talked of; but except some villas of Palladio's, there is nothing very remarkable. I had forgot to desire you to study a little the constitution of the republic of Venice, in order to inspire you with a proper dread of aristocracy; I am sure it is very useful for an Englishman. Except the church of S^{ta} Justina, Padua is hardly worth seeing. Vicenza is much more so, from its theatre, and the fine works of Palladio. Buy Scamozzi's book of them, which will inform you where they are. The Paul Veronese, on the Monte Berrico, is worth the trouble of the walk. Verona is extremely worth your attention; the amphitheatre, from its remaining so perfect, some other Roman buildings, from shewing the bad taste which prevailed upon the decline of the arts: the beautiful buildings of M. San Michele, and the paintings of Alessandro Turchi, are, as I may say, particular to this town. La Capella dei Pellegrini, and the gate *della Stupà*, are most beautiful; and at the church *della Misericordia*, and Casa Gherardini, are Alessandro's best works. He has joined in part the merits of the Roman, Venetian, and Lombard schools; and though perhaps he has not perfected them enough to acquire a place amongst the first masters, yet he certainly may be reckoned amongst the most seducing and agreeable. At San Giorgio is a very fine P. Veronese. Remember to see Cignaroli's works: he is a modern painter that lives here, and who, except his tawdry colours, has merit; I own I think I prefer him to the two fashionable ones at Venice, Piazzetta and Tiepolo. You will meet with two painters in the Venetian state, who are worth notice; they are P. Farinato and Brusasorci: the latter, though hard, has something singular in his works, which is

A.D. 1763. not disagreeable. Before you arrive at Brescia, you skirt the Lago di Garda, which forms a very fine prospect: by going this way, you miss Mantua and Cremona; the first, I should think, must be worth seeing, from J. Romano's frescoes being there: the latter I believe is not so. At Brescia are some good pictures; and at the church of St. Afra, one of P. Veronese's best works; for drawing and purity of composition it must absolutely be seen. The country you pass through on each side of Brescia is pleasing, from its fertility and cultivation, though it has no pretensions to the picturesque. Bergamo must certainly be seen, were it only for the view from the Casa Terzi, where there are some tolerable pictures. The great church is worth a look. Milan has many things worthy your attention; the cathedral as a *chef d'œuvre* of Gothic architecture, some Roman ruins, &c. Above all things, study the works of my favourite Procaccini, and cast an eye on the buildings of Pellegrino Pellegrini, an architect, who, though not the most correct, has chaste and great ideas, and has only worked here.

I don't talk to you of so great a man as Leonardo da Vinci; it is impossible his famous *Last Supper*, and other works, can escape your notice. The company here is more polished and civilised than the rest of the Italian nobility, and consequently is worth being acquainted with. I had almost forgot to mention to you the works of one Cerano, a painter, who has merits, and who is only met with here. From Milan you must go to Turin, where I took you up; and as I have now safely landed you there again, I shall take my leave, heartily wishing that these notes may have procured you the sight of any one object worth the attention of a virtuoso, which without them you would have missed. As their original attempt had no other ambition, my vanity will not greatly suffer if I have laboured for nothing; and if I succeed, I shall be fully recompensed in seeing you have a proper sense of their merits.

F. T.

MARQUESS OF TAVISTOCK TO THE EARL OF UPPER OSSORY.

London, January 27, 1764.

My dear Ossory,—I thank you very much for your letter from Rome, of the 28th past, which I received two days ago, and the more so, as you make excuses for the shortness of it, though it consists

of three sides of paper. Do pray continue in the same laudable A.D. 1764. opinion, for your accounts make me very happy. If you keep your resolutions, this letter will find you returned to Rome, though I think it probable that the pleasures of a Naples carnival may make you exceed your time ; indeed I hope it, for as all your friends wish you to stay a good while longer abroad, I think there are such advantages arising from visiting Italy leisurely, I don't mean from its company, but from its curiosities being of a more rational kind than most others, that I long to have you profit from them. Besides, you shew such inclination and taste for the arts, that I think you are laying in a remedy against *ennui*, that will last you the rest of your life. Believe me, Ossory, what I am now saying is not dictated to me by any body, nor shall any one know that I have said it ; but it is merely the sentiment I have, and shall always profess, that the young man may think himself lucky who has youth enough not to be wanted at home, and pursuits to make his time pass agreeably abroad.

You know how feelingly I regret the necessary duties which tie me down to England, and which, after 21, one can never be without. Believe me, I look upon your advantages here to be greater than any one's : you have time enough to visit whatever parts of the world you wish to see, you have curiosity and good spirits to make you enjoy their amusements ; you have the good sense and experience of a much older man,¹ which will enable you to profit from them ; and you love your own country well enough not to have your head turned by the trifling advantages others have over us ; whilst, at the same time, you allow that good is not absolutely confined to England. But to talk over *virtù* a little.

You never mention the Apollo Belvidere, which my candour will not let me impute to any thing but forgetfulness ; for to have seen it, and not turn half Pagan, is, I think, impossible. I like your idea of the Vatican, in comparing it to a fine poem ; it is a way of studying painting that enables one to judge better by the help of comparisons, and at the same time shews the alliance of the arts. I do most totally differ from you, in preferring Domenichino to Guido ; the former has force, pure composition, and

¹ Mr. Topham Beauclerck.

A.D. 1764. pleasing colours, equal to most, and expression and design I think before any : the latter is flimsy, indecisive, and *doucereux*. When you go to Grotta Ferrata, you will see the former in all his glory. Augustino Caracci's *Galatea* is one of my favourite frescos ; indeed all that gallery is glorious. What say you to the *Caracalla* in the room by it ? I hope Andrea Sacchi's *San Romualdo* strikes you ; and Dan. da Volterra's *Descent from the Cross*. If you will go to Perugia, you will see as good a one by Barrocci. I hope you have seen the Annibal Caracci at S^a. Maria Trastevere. I have bought my Claude Lorraine¹ for 220*l.* ; it is rather more than it is worth, though I have since been offered 200*l.* for it : it is a capital picture.

I will employ the rest of my paper in letting you know the little that is now passing in London. Our new-married couple² have left us near ten days, and as there was a violent storm after they sailed, we are a good deal alarmed at having as yet received no news of them. The prince was very much admired here, and, indeed, with great reason. I have great hopes that Bunbury will be made secretary in Ireland ; it is a troublesome post, but so advantageous for him, that one cannot help wishing it ; the ministry will recommend him to Lord Northumberland, who has nobody of his own to give it to ; and Hamilton's ill conduct makes it impossible that he should continue. Our politics, I believe, go on as usual, though the cider-tax is pretty near run. Our house is going to repeal the Marriage-bill, but it is doubted if the Lords will do the same. We had a mighty pretty ball the other day at Soho for the Hereditary Prince ; yet London in general is but dull. Our opera, upon the whole, is very bad ; but the ballets are good, and tolerably shewy. The ladies accuse me of neglecting them, and living out of the world ; and I don't know if it is not true. I hear sometimes from France, where all our friends are well and happy. The Prince of Conti, you may have heard, has made a great figure

¹ A landscape with herdsmen and cattle, and a distant view of the sea ; forming No. 53 of the *Liber Veritatis*. It is now in the Duke of Bedford's collection in London.

² The Hereditary Prince of Brunswick married on the 16th of January the Princess Augusta of England. On the 27th they visited Mr. Rigby on their way to Harwich, at his seat of Mistley-Hall.

in their struggles for liberty; the Guerchys here are much liked. A.D. 1764.
M. de Pecquigny¹ is mad and quarrelsome; he abused Virette the other day for cheating him at cards, and they called me out to see them cut one another's throats, which, consequently, I was obliged to prevent: the first behaved like a madman, the latter . . . has absconded. Pecquigny's *bon-mot* to Paolucci² upon the occasion was not bad: he stopped him in the passage at the Opera: "Mons. Paolucci," dit-il, "si vous n'êtes pas de moitié avec ce drôle là, n'allez pas jouer avec lui, car il vous trichera."

My rage for hunting increases daily, and I am now of the Redburn hunt; our hounds are tolerably good, and our society too, so that I am grown a very eager foxhunter. Remember me to Beauclerck, and assure him I did all in my power to choose him of White's; but, unluckily, though I thought I had packed a jury, one false brother had crept in.

Adieu! I am going to the House of Commons, which, as you may guess, is much more agreeable to me than walking over the Vatican with you would be! Write sometimes, and be as particular as you can. F. T.

In April, 1764, Lord Tavistock made an excursion to Paris, previous to his choice of a companion for life;³ and after passing some time at l'Isle-Adam, a country-seat of the Prince de Conti, spent a few weeks very agreeably in that circle of society which his father had formerly frequented, and of which the celebrated Madame Geoffrin, the Comtesse de Boufflers, and La Marquise de Barbantane, were the distinguished ornaments. And though he was not quite so much *fêté* by these great ladies as Mr. Hume, who was then at Paris as secretary to the embassy of Lord Hertford, his virtues and accomplishments won from them an attachment

¹ The Duc de Pecquigny, son of the Duc de Chaulnes.

² The Modenese minister, who was not himself, according to Horace Walpole, "in the odour of honesty."

³ "It is said, that at Lord Tavistock's return, he is to decide whom he will marry."—*Hor. Walpole to the Earl of Hertford, April 20, 1764.*

A.D. 1764. repeatedly glanced at in the historian's private correspondence. He returned to England the latter end of May; and we learn from the following lively letter the object of his choice, and the result of his declaration.

HORACE WALPOLE TO THE EARL OF HERTFORD.

Strawberry Hill, June 8, 1764.

To be sure, you have heard the event of this last week? Lord Tavistock has flung his handkerchief; and, except a few jealous *sultanas*, and some *sultanas valides* who had marketable daughters, every body is pleased that the lot is fallen on Lady Elizabeth Keppel.

The House of Bedford came to town last Friday. I supped with them that night at the Spanish ambassador's, who has made Powis House magnificent. Lady Elizabeth was not there, nor mentioned. On the contrary, by the duchess's conversation, which turned on Lady Betty Montagu, there were suspicions in her favour. The next morning, Lady Elizabeth received a note from the Duchess of Marlborough, insisting on seeing her that evening. When she arrived at Marlborough House, she found nobody but the Duchess and Lord Tavistock. The duchess cried, "La! they have left the window open in the next room!" went to shut it, and shut the lovers in too, where they remained for three hours. The same night all the town was at the Duchess of Richmond's. Lady Albemarle was at *tredille*; the Duke of Bedford came up to the table, and told her he must speak to her as soon as the pool was over. You may guess whether she knew a card more than she played. When she had finished, the duke told her he should wait on her the next morning, to make the demand in form. She told it directly to me and my niece Waldegrave, who was in such transport for her friend, that she promised the Duke of Bedford to kiss him, and hurried home directly to write to her sisters.¹ The duke asked no questions about fortune; but has since slipped a bit of paper into Lady Elizabeth's hand, telling her he hoped his son would live; but if he did not,

¹ Lady Dysart and Mrs. Keppel; the latter was married to Lady Elizabeth's brother, the Bishop of Exeter.

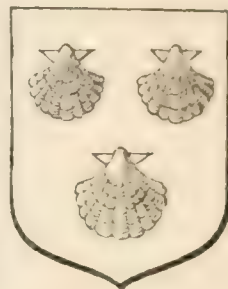
there was something for her : it was a jointure of 3000*l.* a-year, A.D. 1764. and 600*l.* pin-money. I dined with her the next day at Monsieur de Guerchy's; and as I hindered the company from wishing her joy, and yet joked with her myself, Madame de Guerchy said, she perceived I would let nobody else tease her, that I might have all the teasing to myself. She has behaved in the prettiest manner in the world, and would not appear at a vast assembly at Northumberland House on Tuesday, nor at a great haymaking at Mrs. Pitt's on Wednesday. Yesterday they all went to Woburn; and tomorrow the ceremony is to be performed.

Adieu, my dear lord, yours ever,

H. W.¹

By his union with this lady (the daughter of William Anne, second Earl of Albemarle²), who, to a sweetness of disposition peculiarly her own, joined all those mild and unaffected virtues which tend to perpetuate the charm first given by personal grace and innate dignity of character—Lord Tavistock attained a happiness which, in his own language, he scarcely dared to avow, and to “the sacred and home-felt delight” of which, Time, whilst it gave but a very limited duration, imparted each year additional lustre and sereneness. Of the congratulations which he received from his various friends upon this event, those of Lord Ossory were not the least acceptable : in acknowledging them, he again dilates on some of those Italian topics to which his fancy was accustomed to turn with so much beautiful enthusiasm.

KEPPII.



MARQUESS OF TAVISTOCK TO THE EARL OF UPPER OSSORY.

Woburn Abbey, July 29, 1764.

I shall begin my letter, my dearest Ossory, with mine and my wife's thanks for the warmth and sincerity of your good wishes; indeed, I believe they will meet with all the success we can desire. I long to hasten to Italy (in idea only, I mean); for I amuse myself extremely in thinking over all the fine things there, and doubly so when I can communicate those thoughts to you who are on the spot.

¹ Letters to Lord Hertford, p. 126. ² Arms; *gules* 3 escallops *argent*.

A.D. 1764. To commence with Venice: though I believe it is a proof of the purity of your taste, I am surprised, I own, that the colour and knowledge of light and shade you find there, have not made any more impression on you. I own that, attached as I was to Roman dignity and Bolognese force and truth, my eyes were dazzled with them. The paintings at San Salvatore, the schools of San Rocco and San Marco, are, I think, capital all over the world; yet, of a truth, the lowness of their ideas, and their *unpoetic* compositions, destroy greatly the illusion which fine painting ought always to raise. I hope the Lombard architecture will have pleased you more; Palladio and San Michele must, I think, have struck you, by reminding you of the Roman antiquities; and I think their example has been more successful in operating upon their countrymen than all the “precious *restes*” (to use your own words) of old Rome have with her degenerate sons. If you have taken Mantua in your way, pray give me some account of it in your next letter; for I have an idea there are fine things there, without guessing what they are.

This letter will find you, I suppose, at Bologna, in the midst of all those admirable masters, contemplating them at your ease, now you have got rid of your riotous company. I envy you every thing in Italy but your heats; which I don't think you grumble about so much as I expected. Why don't you retire, till the violence of them is over, to Vall'ombrosa? I am told it is always cool there; and though I am not a man to preach about health, I think fevers are to be dreaded with your young blood. I hope you have sufficiently admired at Bologna L. Caracci's *St. Antony the Hermit preaching*, in a little church of that name: Hamilton has certainly mentioned it to you. How much longer shall you stay in Italy? and shall you go out of it by the Tyrol and Germany, or through the south of France? You may trust me with your secrets (if you have any) about travelling, or coming home, &c. and I assure you I will never betray you. So much for Italy.

As to home news, I am too much a country gentleman to know any out of Bedfordshire: my house at Houghton¹ takes up most of

¹ Houghton House, near Ampthill, a structure built by the Countess of Pembroke, “Sidney's sister:”—it is now in ruins; but there is at Woburn Abbey a fine painting of it by Wilson in its condition at this period.

my attention ; and I flatter myself, at your return you will find it A.D. 1764.
more comfortable than you could have expected ; that is to say,
just habitable. The outside will be beautiful ; and the farm (which
I am going to take into my own hands), will, I think, make my
principal amusement. I don't mean absolutely to bury myself in
the country, but I am not quite in good humour with London, and
what is called the world ; though I am extremely so with myself, and
all those whom I love and esteem. I own fairly that parliament and
politics help to make me dislike it ; but the former I only wait to
get rid of till you are of age, and can succeed me in the county.
I assure you I am serious, and have got my father's consent for it.
I am fitting up my house in London, but not expensively, any
more than my country one : the latter I believe I shall be able to
inhabit in September, though we shall be surrounded with workmen.
My Barberini pictures are arrived in the river, and will be unloaded
next week : you may guess at my impatience to see them, especially
the Caracci,¹ which is the only picture I pride myself upon as a
capital one.

The Bunburys are expected here every day. The young men
have set up a new club this winter, which some think threatens
the dissolution of White's itself. I and all your friends are of it ;
so I have got Beauclerck and you chosen. Adieu, my dear Ossory,
remember me to all my friends in that blessed country you are
now in.

F. T.

Don't let what I have said incline you to come home sooner
than you intended ; you cannot yet know the pleasures you are
storing up for the rest of your life by travelling.—

Meanwhile the ministry, to whose duration so momentary
a date was generally assigned, had brought to a successful
close the business of its first parliamentary session, after
braving the tempestuous debate on the legality of general
warrants consequent upon the proceedings against Mr. Wilkes,
in which, as they were issued before the Duke of Bedford
joined the ministry, he had had no concern. Upon this

¹ *Christ in the Garden*, by Annibale Caracci, now in the collection at
Woburn Abbey ; enthusiastically admired by the late Sir Thos. Lawrence.

A.D. 1764. attack, the Opposition, like a spring-tide flood, had mustered all its strength; and being joined by all who either thought the administration insecure, or who placed greater importance on the danger that might result to the subject from the use of those weapons, than on the precedents in virtue of which they had been hitherto used, even by ministers proverbially jealous of the people's rights—they were very near accomplishing the great object of their efforts, exhibiting, on the division, a minority of 218 against 232. But, baffled in this point, the irritated tide ebbed back within its former limits. Both houses had previously joined in denouncing the seditious and obscene publications of Mr. Wilkes; who, expelled from his seat, and bankrupt in character, though a Croesus in popular applause, transferred the venom of his pen to France; whilst the financial measures of Mr. Grenville, regulated by a strict economy, in contemplation of the great scheme of American taxation, passed without a cavil—scarcely with a comment.

The indubitable right of a ministry to dismiss from employment such of its adherents as, on any vital question, manifest a defection by their votes, has been generally allowed in party tactics. If the hostile part taken in the late struggle by several in connexion with the government had escaped all penalty of this nature, its tendency would doubtless have been to invite fresh desertions, by the impunity which it would thereby have given to treachery and guile. Amongst the few whom the ministry now dismissed was General Conway, a groom of the bedchamber and colonel of a regiment—the intimate friend of Horace Walpole, and distinguished equally by his amiable qualities in private life, and by the talent which afterwards animated him in debate. He had not chosen to consider himself in regular opposition; yet, in a division on the very first day of the session, which,

though nominally on the mere point of reading a bill, A.D. 1764, "became the material question for trying forces,"¹ he had voted against government; and this offence was enhanced by his equally decided conduct on the more vital question which had agitated all parties,—he was dismissed from his office in the bedchamber. So far the administration might be considered as acting strictly on principles of self-defence; but there was something much less justifiable in depriving him of his military employment; and nothing but the strongest sense of the necessity of interposing an efficient bulwark against an irruption of seditious violence, threatening the dissolution of all government, could extenuate a proceeding that looked so much like vengeance. The act was vindicated in a pamphlet of the day, and ably attacked in a "counter-address to the public" by Horace Walpole. In the case of either dismissal, the ministry would have been assailed by its virulent opponents; but it was most unwise to furnish them with added arms of proof; and the government itself appears to have been sensible of the injustice of the proceeding, by sparing the other military men who had acted a similar part.

The legal opinions which the Duke of Bedford, on entering the ministry, had taken for his guidance on the great constitutional points involved in the case of Mr. Wilkes,² indicate his anxiety to steer clear of any infringement of civil liberty or privilege of parliament; at the same time, he could not but be sensible that the nation was engaging on far deeper springs of action than had for a long period influenced it; and that the dangerous impulse which had been given by party rancour to the riotous display of popular effervescence, might need some such restraining

¹ Horace Walpole; Letters to the Earl of Hertford, p. 6. ² Bedford Papers.

A.D. 1764. check as the rider gives to the spirit of a generous courser which has been chafed by the spur into too rapid speed.

The administration was still compassed with difficulties upon either hand, which threatened alike its usefulness and its existence. Two great contending parties directed their artillery against it; those who wished for the return of Lord Bute, to take the lead in public business, and those who still adhered to the system which directed every thing during the latter part of the late reign. All three were at present almost equally balanced; but any close union of the two opposing elements would clearly overwhelm the third in power; and hence the duration of the latter absolutely rested on the steady continuance of that countenance and protection which the sovereign had hitherto extended to it.

The main principle upon which the Duke of Bedford continued to rely for the maintenance of the ministry, and which alone could have induced him to join it, in the absence of that union with the other great leaders which he had previously recommended—was that which the king had himself proposed, in order to attract him to his service—namely, “the exclusion of Lord Bute from his presence, and from any participation in public affairs.”¹

We would not willingly consider the king as having been, at the time he made this condition, insincere to one who, by undertaking the late negotiations in a time of tempest which would have daunted a less fearless statesman, had proved himself so affectionate and dutiful a subject. But it is certain that the scene which shortly opened at court was pregnant with events that might well justify such a suspicion. And whether the political influence which Lord Bute, after his retirement, assuredly strove to regain, originated from

¹ Duke of Bedford to the Duke of Marlborough, May 19, 1765.

the princess dowager or her son, it must be obvious, that A.D. 1764. any countenance which the latter might lend to the earl, in his project for the resumption of power, could not fail to be regarded by the Duke of Bedford as an entire infraction of the bond, on the strength of which he had consented to take office.

The intrigues at court of a state leader are often only to be traced by their effects;—the earth through which the mole worms itself, betrays the miner, even when it leaves behind no hillock to reveal its latent course. The Earl of Bute, after a year spent in ornamenting his seat at Luton, and ostensibly renewing his acquaintance with Columella and the Georgics—revisited the world of politics. “Lord Bute,” writes Walpole in March 1764, “is come to town, has been long with the king alone, and goes publicly to court and to the House of Lords. Pitt certainly has been treating with him; I have no doubt but his return must produce confusion at court. If what is said to be designed proves true, that the king will go to Hanover, and take the queen with him, I shall expect that that clamour (which you see depends on very few men,¹ for it has declined during these private negotiations) will rise higher than ever. The queen’s absence must be designed to leave the regency in the hands of another lady (the princess dowager); connect that with Lord Bute’s return, and judge what will be the consequences!”² But it needed not the fulfilment of this speculation to produce the animosities anticipated: there were speedy indications of the ministry’s decline in the king’s confidence. “In May, Dr. Terrick and Dr. Lambe were made bishops, without the nomination or approbation of the ministers;”³ and the Duke

¹ ² “This is an important observation; it affords a clue to the causes of the unpopularity of the early years of George III.”—ED. Letters to Lord Hertford, p. 94–7.

³ *Ib.* p. 124.

A.D. 1764. of Bedford “was still more surprised at the chancellor’s being made an earl without his knowledge, after he had left town.”¹ The umbrage which he conceived at these tokens of extraneous influence manifested itself in increased hostility to the Earl of Bute;² which was shared by Mr. Grenville and his adherents³ to nearly a similar extent.

Parliament meanwhile assembled, and the celebrated resolutions were produced relative to the stamp-act—a measure which, however impolitic, might have been successful if it had been carried in the former session, when first proposed, before those arts had been resorted to in America which kindled up such discontent, to the intimidation of the British legislature under the succeeding administration, —this measure, upon which so much indignant eloquence was afterwards expended, passed the Commons, after one inconsiderable division, almost without debate, and the House of Lords without debate, division, or a protest. The motion on the illegality of general warrants was even less successful in its result than before. In that on the dismissal of officers, some sparkles of the ministers’ hostility to Lord Bute shone out: for Mr. Rigby and Mr. Grenville letting fall some indignant expressions against “arbitrary Stuart principles,” they were construed into a shaft directed at the Stuart favourite—who replied by unceasing efforts to seduce Lord Holland from his adherence to the Duke of Bedford; and his unequivocal success, evinced partially during the

¹ Letters to Lord Hertford, p. 124. ² “I am just come from an impromptu ball at Mrs. Anne Pitt’s: it was entertaining to see the Duchess of Bedford and Lady Bute, with their respective forces drawn up on different sides of the room.” *Ib.* Jan. 22, 1765.

³ “Lord Bute and George Grenville are so ill together, that decency is scarce observed between their adherents; and the moment the former has an opportunity, or resolution enough, he will remove the latter.” *Ib.* Jan. 22, p. 181.

progress of the public business, but without disguise during A.D. 1765. the settlement of the regency bill in May, put a period to the political friendship which had so long subsisted betwixt these noblemen.

The discussions upon this last important measure, which were attended with extraordinary jealousies and heats, brought to a crisis all the floating humours of the Bute and Bedford parties. This had the strongest reasons for desiring to exclude from the regency the Princess Dowager of Wales; that, the most pressing interest in the explicit introduction of her name into the bill. The princess having been educated in the court of her father the Duke of Saxe-Gotha, had brought with her to England all the arbitrary notions of irresponsible monarchical authority which prevailed within its precincts. The genius of the English people, the habits of the court, the freedom, frequently the asperity, with which the measures of George the Second and his ministers were commented on, both within and without the walls of parliament,—and, above all, the control which the ministers exercised over the monarch—the salutary restrictions which circumscribed his power,—had early excited her astonishment and disgust: it was difficult to say which feeling preponderated. And hence “the great lesson which she early and perpetually laboured to impress upon her son, in the event of his coming to the throne”—a lesson which appears to have influenced his conduct throughout the whole of his regal life, was, “GEORGE, BE KING!”¹ In the maxims of government which she had thus sought to instil into his mind, she had found a diligent abettor in the Earl of Bute, who to this source owed much of his late unpopularity, and who had constantly hung upon the influence and favour of the princess with a devotion so

¹ Nichols's Recollections of the Reign of George III. p. 6.

A.D. 1765. peculiar, as to have awoke in the public mind, as appears by the published correspondence of the times,¹ the most injurious surmises. The tendency, therefore, of her exclusion would have been a decisive blow to the perpetuation of Lord Bute's secret influence, in the event of the king's demise; but by a dexterous manœuvre her name was expressly inserted as an amendment, whilst the bill passed through the Commons: in this state it was returned to the Lords, passed their house, and on the 15th of May received the king's assent.

From the little disguise which the ministers had used in concealing their repugnance to the nomination of the princess in this bill, the king's distaste to them, encouraged in every way by her and by Lord Bute, who affected no concealment of their indignation, was greatly heightened. When the former went to him on the 16th, to receive his commands for the speech that was to close the session, he forbade the prorogation of the parliament, which, he said, he would only have adjourned. He had, in fact, privately sent for the Duke of Cumberland; had already desired him to form a new administration, and to treat with Mr. Pitt. Some extraordinary incidents that now immediately occurred, as if conjured up by a dexterous magician, became a farther engine for quickening his repugnance: these we will now proceed briefly to narrate.

On January 10, the first day of the session, the journey-men silk-weavers of London, conceiving themselves greatly injured by the too free use of French and other wrought silks, went in a body to the House of Commons, and presented a petition for a general prohibition of them.² The distress of which they complained was not peculiar to themselves; as in the course of March, numerous petty insurrections,

¹ Lord Waldegrave's and Lord Orford's Memoirs, *passim*. Ib. Letters to Lord Hertford, &c. &c.

² Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xxxv. p. 44.

owing to the dearness of provisions, took place, particularly A.D. 1765. in the western counties.¹ To relieve, however, their distress, so far as it might depend on legislative enactment, the duties on raw silk were repealed,² and additional duties laid on the importation of foreign silks and velvets.³ Their petitions being so far granted, no farther embarrassment was apprehended. But, on the 14th of May, a large body of the weavers, assembled by beat of drum, marched in procession, with their wives and children, from Spital and Moorfields to St. James's, and on the 15th to the House of Peers; having each day a black flag flying before them, and a petition to present to the king on their distressed condition. As though to divert the current of their intentions, reports were disseminated amongst them that the Duke of Bedford favoured the wear of French manufactures; and as he had contended in parliament against their favourite idea, that the state of their trade had been produced by the peace, in its having thrown open the foreign market, they obtained ready credence; and he became immediately the object of their blind and eager fury.⁴ On his return from Westminster to Bedford House he was waylaid by the now insurgent mob, and narrowly escaped destruction, being assailed, as his carriage passed through Bloomsbury, by a tempest of stones, one of which, of massive size, would undoubtedly have proved fatal, had not the gentleman who accompanied him—a large and powerful man—raised his arm, and thereby parried the blow.⁵

¹ Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xxxv. p. 142.

² Ib. p. 243.

³ Ib. p. 244, Friday, May 10.

⁴ Increased, no doubt, by a pamphlet that had been launched against him, entitled, "A letter from a Spitalfields Weaver to a Nobleman;" in which he was loaded with ironical encomiums, and was calumniously stated to have said, that if he were a weaver, he could live upon tenpence a-day. This pamphlet is strongly calculated to increase the suspicion that the whole *riot* was concocted by political incendiaries.

⁵ Robert Palmer, Esq. grandfather to the present member for Berkshire: he was auditor to the duke.

A.D. 1765. On the following day their number was augmented to 8000, and the Guards were ordered out. On the 17th they again surrounded parliament, so well disciplined and well conducted, as to countenance the most serious suspicions of direct encouragement from some secret quarter. Some of Lord Bute's partisans were recognised amongst them; and an eye-witness¹ who met a body of them, declared that "they resembled rather a body of recruits going to their regiments, than a populace following the dictates of rage and passion." The most alarming rumours of other multitudes about to join them from Portsmouth, Manchester, and Norwich, were busily circulated; and the city was daunted with the spirit of mutiny, which thus seemed every where rising. In the evening of that day a prodigious multitude assaulted Bedford House, and began the work of destruction by pulling down the outer walls; whilst another party surrounded its long extent of garden, where there were but fifty men on guard. In the midst of this great personal danger, the Duke of Bedford remained perfectly collected and serene: being possessed of remarkable intrepidity and spirit, he took the resolution of issuing into the square to harangue the infuriated mob; and it was with difficulty that his friends restrained him from an act so much in unison with his frank and fearless nature, but which would obviously have been the very height of rashness. The multitude had nearly forced their way to the house—five minutes longer delay would have proved its ruin—when another party of Guards that had been sent for reached the spot, and the riot-act having been read, the insurgents were dispersed without loss of life. The mild and steady exercise of the civil power combined with these military movements to compose the tumults: after two

¹ Bedford Papers; Letter from Sir H. Dalrymple to the Duke of Bedford.

days more of suspense and agitation, tranquillity was restored, A.D. 1765. and "every body went to Bedford House" to offer their congratulations.¹

The ministry, being apprised almost at its commencement of the secret negotiation, had meanwhile sought an explanation with the king. The particulars of this audience were communicated to the Duke of Marlborough in the following letter, which contains some important disclosures.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Bedford House, May 19, 1765.

You must doubtless have heard, my dear lord, of the riots and tumults we have had here; I hope all that is now partly subsided, though I am yet obliged to keep garrison here, with one hundred infantry and sixty cavalry; and it being Sunday night, the concourse of people is still very great, though not at all dangerous, it consisting chiefly of such as mere curiosity has brought here. I should not have troubled you with this account by flying packet, had not a much more material affair intervened.

We have long been apprehensive (I mean the king's ministers) that Lord Bute had, for some time past, been operating mischief with the king; and Mr. Grenville and I, so long ago as the beginning of last week, took the liberty to mention to the king our suspicions; to which we could obtain no more satisfactory answer, but that he would explain himself more fully hereafter. But it having transpired on Thursday night that a negotiation was actually then carrying on, through the channel of the Duke of Cumberland, with Mr. Pitt, Lord Temple, Duke of Newcastle, most of the opposition, and Lord Bute, we found it absolutely necessary,—in the perilous circumstances of the times, when rebellion was actually in the centre of the metropolis, and I, a peer of parliament, debarred

¹ Amongst them Horace Walpole; who, though manifesting in his private letters the greatest hostility to the Bedford administration, and delight at every symptom of its downfall, handsomely told the duke, "that, however he might happen to differ with him in politics, this was a common cause, and that every body must feel equal indignation at it with himself."—*Letters to Lord Hertford*, p. 225.

A.D. 1765. from taking my seat there, and arraigned by a mob for having given my vote according to my conscience and opinion,—to inquire of his majesty his intentions with regard to our continuance in his service. We could obtain no further explanation, than his intentions to change his administration, but without alleging any fault we had committed towards him, or informing us when, or by whom we were to be replaced. I took the liberty to remind the king upon what conditions, proposed by himself, namely, the excluding Lord Bute from his presence and any participation in public affairs, I was called by him into his service, and how very unfaithfully those conditions had been kept with me. I shewed him the immediate necessity of forming an administration of some kind or other, when all rule and authority were trampled on, and his government set at nought; and how little proper we, who had lost his confidence by the artifices of his favourite, were, to reinstate, in the last act of our administration, order and tranquillity, in the distempered state in which things now were. I therefore entreated him, for his own sake, the public's, our own, and his future ministers', to fix our successors immediately. I assured him that the same harmony which had subsisted between us till the present time, did and would continue. Thus I left him, as did all the rest, without being able to get an explicit answer.

I leave it, my dear lord, to your consideration, whether your presence in town is not necessary at the present crisis. I think mine so much so, that I stay in town though almost a prisoner in my own house, and not able, without the utmost hazard of my life, to have attended the House of Lords the last two days of their meeting. I am ever most faithfully and affectionately yours,

BEDFORD.

The Duke of Cumberland, meanwhile, entered with great alacrity into the negotiation with which he was intrusted, by frequent interviews and messages with Lord Temple, Mr. Pitt, &c.; but the open hoisting of the standard of independence against Lord Bute had reconciled the former with Mr. Grenville, and to every overture that was made to him the latter was disinclined; so that the duke finding, at the

end of four days, his every effort void, advised the king to A.D. 1765. continue his present servants.

The king, in consequence, desired the ministry to state the conditions on which they would remain in office. After a conference together, Mr. Grenville was directed, on the 22d, to wait on him with these proposals: that Lord Bute should neither directly nor indirectly interfere in the affairs of government; that his brother, Mr. Stuart Mackenzie, should be dismissed from the privy seal of Scotland; Lord Holland from the paymastership of the forces; that Lord Granby should be placed at the head of the army; and that they should have the appointment to the government of Ireland. These conditions were reproached by their enemies as insolent, insulting, most imperious; but whilst they bespoke great confidence and some resentment, if we except perhaps the demand relative to Lord Granby, which was aimed directly at the Duke of Cumberland, but the Duke of Cumberland in decided opposition, there appears to be nothing unreasonable. Lord Holland had made his own election; the pledged neutrality of Lord Bute had once already been eluded; if the ministry were intended really to endure upon their own footing, it was necessary that there should be no second mistake, or cause of disagreement upon his score; and what other unquestioned token could they give the world of having carried their point against Lord Bute, than the dismissal of his brother from that power which would else unquestionably have been converted into weapons against themselves. The king is stated to have received the proposals with surprise and indignation:¹ he required time to deliberate upon them; but before evening sent the lord chancellor to express his acquiescence

¹ It is not, however, said whether they were spontaneous or *infused*.

A.D. 1765. with all except the appointment of Lord Granby. He would not, he said, engage not to *consult* Lord Bute, but assented to his absolute exclusion from all interference in business, direct or indirect. This declaration, on the word of a king, satisfied the ministers—Horace Walpole says, “the rebels.” Lord Frederick Campbell was made privy seal for Scotland, Charles Townshend paymaster, Lord Weymouth viceroy of Ireland. These arrangements being made, the Duke of Bedford, after revisiting the court, left town for Streatham on the 24th. On the following day the king prorogued parliament in person.

It would be most ungenerous and uncharitable to believe that if, after the settlement of these several stipulations, the sovereign had been left to his own unbiassed judgment, he would not punctually have fulfilled them; for though there doubtless clung to him much of the obstinacy, and somewhat of the brooding sullenness under contradiction that characterised his early years,¹ his native sense of honour must have preserved him from the least infringement of his promise. But every advantage was taken of his known impatience of these trammels; his domestic hours were beset by potent influences—the mortified ambition of Lord Bute, the offended pride of the princess-mother, and the irritated consequence of the Duke of Cumberland. The language of the first upon his brother’s fall was, “What! do they mean to destroy the monarchy? to annihilate the first of the three estates?”² The policy of the second was to feed these jealousies; and

* ¹ “He does not want resolution, but it is mixed with too much obstinacy. Whenever he is displeased, his anger does not break out with heat and violence; but he becomes sullen and silent, and retires to his closet—not to compose his mind by study or contemplation, but merely to indulge the melancholy enjoyment of his own ill-humour.”—*Earl Waldegrave’s Memoirs*, pp. 8–9.

² Life of Lord Chatham.

the last handed to court all the great persons who revolved A.D. 1765. around his orbit, that the king might be encouraged by the willing retinue which he could yet command.¹ When they came to the levee there were close whisperings, and other sinister auguries of opposition and intrigue; and the ministers, when admitted into the closet upon business, were still received coolly, ceremoniously, ungraciously. The ground on which they stood was obviously as hollow as before: but as the Duke of Bedford contemplated a journey that would call him away for a considerable time, he resolved to come, if possible, to a clearer understanding of the footing on which they were to rest; and in an audience, the particulars of which have been most grossly misrepresented, he pressed respectfully but firmly home upon the monarch the injurious tendency of those vacillations which had been apparent in his conduct. It had been the favourite tenet of the more polished writers who assailed the Duke of Bedford, that his union with a Gower had lowered the tone of those Whig principles which he had inherited, and fixed him too devotedly on the side of royalty and the prerogative: his continuance in the Bute administration, after the Pelhams and Cavendishes had abandoned it, might seem to them to countenance the fancy; but it had at least left unimpaired the fearless expression of his sentiments; and these he now candidly and honestly avowed. The noblest proof perhaps which he could give of his erect integrity, and of the regard which, notwithstanding every opprobrious aspersion,² he main-

¹ Mr. Rigby to the Duke of Bedford; June 16, 1765.

² "The ministry having endeavoured to exclude the dowager out of the regency bill, the Earl of Bute determined to dismiss them. Upon this the Duke of Bedford demanded an audience of the king, reproached him in plain terms with his duplicity, baseness, falsehood, treachery, and hypocrisy,—repeatedly gave him the lie, and left him in convulsions."—*Junius*.

A.D. 1765. tained for the monarch by whom he thought he had been aggrieved, exists in the dignified silence with which he bore the calumnies of rancorous malice, when he had it in his power to refute the charge, by the unaffected statement of the particulars of this interview, which he wrote immediately afterwards. Having fortunately been preserved amidst his private and official papers, it is given below, as the time is unquestionably come that was glanced at by another individual, to whom the perusal of it was confided, when he wrote : “ the conversation on Wednesday must for ever do you honour and credit. If the behaviour of the other party remains the same, there must, sooner or later, be an end of this system, and then it will become necessary, for your own justification, for all the world to know what you are so good now as to intrust me with.”

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Streatham, June 13, 1765.

I promised you, my dear lord, to let you know if any thing material should occur before I left this place to go to Woburn, and I thought it very probable that something would ; as I was determined to have an explanation with the K. before my absenting myself from court for so long a term as a month, as I hope not to be obliged to come to this part of the world before the 15th of July. I accordingly went into the closet yesterday ; and after some prefatory discourse, and receiving his orders about business now depending in council, I took the liberty to desire leave to recapitulate to him what had passed between him and his ministers, from the time he avowed the design of changing his administration, to their being called back again by him, to resume their functions. Whether his countenance and support had not been promised them ? whether this promise had been kept ? but, on the contrary, whether all those who are our most bitter enemies had not been countenanced by him in public ? and whether we and our friends had not

met with a treatment directly opposite to this ? Whether he is not A.D. 1765.
in his retirement beset with our avowed enemies ? whether the Earl of Bute's representing the ministers in a bad light to him, either by himself or his emissaries, is not an interfering (at least indirectly) in public counsels ? Does not this Favourite, by interfering in this manner, and not daring to take a responsible employment, risk the utmost hazard to himself ? and, which is of more consequence, risk the king's quiet and the safety of the public ? What must be the opinion of the public here, and of Europe in general ?

Having received no satisfactory answer to any of these questions, nor indeed any other, but that Lord Bute was not at all consulted, and that he had never done me any ill offices with his majesty, I proceeded to beseech him to permit his authority and his favour and countenance to go together ; and if the last cannot be given to his present ministers, to transfer to others that authority which must be useless in their hands unless strengthened by the former. I assured him that we thought ourselves unfortunate in having lost his good opinion ; but that we were conscious of our own good intentions, and that his majesty is misled by misrepresentations.

This is the whole that passed ; which is indeed by no means satisfactory to me. Nothing new worth mentioning has happened since your leaving town, but that the Duke of Devonshire and his three uncles were at court yesterday, invited thither, as I am told, by the king. Adieu, my dear lord. I desire my best love to Car. I intend setting out immediately for Woburn. B.

The impatience of the domestic council to induce the king to throw off this political constraint, by the dismissal of his ministers at all hazards, might be increased by the plain voice of truth which was thus addressed to him. They led him to believe, that if he would condescend to see Mr. Pitt himself, his cruelty in not consenting to take office would be softened, and another ministry might be arranged ; but, after three or four interviews both with him and Lord Temple, the whole project was disconcerted by their absolute inflexibility. Apprised of what was passing by the Lord Chancellor

A.D. 1765. Northington, who omitted no opportunity of conjuring the king to be satisfied with his present administration, and treat them with good-humour, Lord Sandwich was earnest for the Duke of Bedford and his other colleagues to return to town, that they might take advantage of any such gracious openings as might arise; but whilst the favour and authority of the crown seemed still in direct opposition to each other, the duke did not think it became him to press any farther his advice or services upon the king, by a step which would have the appearance of a desire to embarrass the negotiations into which he had entered; and in this decision Mr. Grenville and Lord Halifax entirely concurred. The Duke of Cumberland next strove for a second time to construct a ministry; but before he could succeed, he was driven to such a strait as to be obliged to solicit the Duke of Marlborough to accept the mastership of the horse; and when he refused to be disunited from his relation, "without rhyme or reason being urged," the former condescended to send a messenger, Lord Bateman, to implore him not to insist upon his brother's resignation with him. "Every thing else," writes Mr. Grenville, on the 7th of July, "has varied so fast and so completely, that the wonder of mankind has scarce been able to follow it. Nor is the scene which is to disclose this new administration even now quite ready to open; for, though the child appears at the birth, there scarcely seems sufficient strength to bring it forth. I hope, however, and believe that it cannot be long delayed: the attempts have been numerous, and many unsuccessful, but none more extraordinary than that (relative to the Duke of Marlborough) which Lord Sandwich communicated to me this morning." Into the farther particulars which he narrates of the various overtures made, accepted, or refused, it is unnecessary here to enter. On the 10th, the

political paroxysm was over,—the Rockingham administration was produced ; and the Duke of Bedford and his chief colleagues receiving official notice of their dismissal, their other friends threw up their respective employments. “ I am glad, my dear lord,” writes the Duke of Bedford to Lord Sandwich, “ that the farce is at last at an end : I have been long impatient for the *dénouement*, which I will venture to say, though miserably brought to a conclusion by the authors of it, ends honourably for us, and must, I think, hereafter fatally for them.”

Being thus at liberty to follow his original design, the duke set off, the latter end of July, on his excursion to Paris, into the diversions and society of which he entered with all the gaiety of a younger man. “ My time,” he writes to the Duchess of Bedford, “ is so much taken up here, that I dare not trust till to-morrow to write to you. I am at the same hotel with Lord Ossory ; I was very happy in seeing and finding him in every thing as much improved as possible, and as agreeable a young man as I ever met with in my life, and—what neither you nor I shall dislike—he has a great resemblance to Tavistock. After breakfast (by the by, we have a deep mourning for the infant of Parma, so that I have brought my fine clothes in vain), I went to the Palais Royal gardens, from thence, *en chenille*, to M. de Puysieux, who had sent to me with the civillest message possible, and desired me to fix a day to dine with him, and to bring Lord Ossory and his brother. He kept me, I believe, near an hour on politics, and he is, in Sandwich’s phrase, very handsome. After dinner, I went to Madame de la Vallière, who really seemed glad to see me, and who enjoins me to say a thousand civil things from her to you. From thence for a moment to the *Italiens*, where there was not a soul but ourselves, it being

A.D. 1765. an absolute Italian piece; there was *relâche au Théâtre à la Comédie Française*, but to-morrow we have *Phédre et Hippolite*, Mad^{lle} Dumesnil and a new actor to take the principal parts. From the *Italiens* I went to Mad. Geoffrin, from whom I am just returned; she being in her old way, I was *renvoyé*, having something to do, but she insisted on my dining with her to-morrow. She is just as we left her, and most cordially expressed her friendship for you: she inquired much about *les belles nièces*,¹ and scolded me a little that I had not yet got them husbands. I have had a melancholy letter from the Bailli (de Solar), who declines seeing me; I fear he is in a deplorable way. Upon my coming home, I found a courier of M. de Choiseul, with a letter from Madame de Choiseul, offering me ‘un mauvais appartement,’ as she calls it, in their house; ‘mais qui vaudra un peu mieux que tous ceux de Compiègne?’ which I have accepted. Voici la différence des deux pays que nous habitons! Pendant que je me régale ici avec des pêches, vous mangez des misérables *bilberries*;² là bas, où vous êtes, pour mes cerneaux, vous n’avez que des misérables noisettes; à l’égard de moi-même, on me donne des baisers, au lieu des *coups de pierre* dont on me saluoit à Londres. Thus much for *badinerie*.”³ After some stay at Paris, the duke spent a week with his friends in Compiègne, visited the Prince de Conti at l’Isle-Adam, and returned to England by way of Pontoise and Rouen.⁴

¹ The Miss Wrotteslys. ² The Duchess was then at Woburn, in the woods near which the whortle-berry grows in profusion.

³ Duke of Bedford to the Duchess of Bedford, Paris, July 30, 1765.

⁴ Whilst he was at Paris, there was published in London a “Letter to the Earl of Bute relative to the late Changes in the Administration;” in reference to which the duchess writes to him, July 28: “The letter to Lord Bute is too long to send by the post, which I am sorry for; it is so well wrote, and is such a true story, I wish I knew the author, to thank him for having told the world the cause of your dislike to him.” It is printed in the

On the 31st of October died the Duke of Cumberland, by A.D. 1765. which event the Chancellorship of Dublin was vacant. In the Irish parliament, the friends of the new ministry had made an attack on Mr. Rigby in some discussion that had taken place, but which the house had received very coolly, as the equity of the Duke of Bedford's administration in Ireland had left them many friends there. The defence, rather than the attack of himself, excited Mr. Rigby's attention; the thought struck him of making it subservient to the credit of the duke; and he immediately suggested to the provost, Dr. Andrews, that he had now an admirable opportunity of evincing his gratitude for some favours which he had formerly received, during the duke's lieutenancy of

Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xxxv. pp. 306-7; and the following passages are those to which the duchess seems to refer: "Obliged to call in some powerful assistance to complete this salutary work of peace, you pointed out to your prince a proper person as a coadjutor; a prudent, powerful, and (till your sinister arts prevailed) a popular nobleman; who, seeing the situation of his sovereign and his country, readily obeyed the call, and gave to both that respite they so much required. You will pardon me if I here remind your lordship of that base and ungenerous treatment which you shewed towards that nobleman; how you embarrassed him in one of the most nice and difficult enterprises that ever was undertaken; how you perplexed him with your absurd and contradictory instructions; and, for fear he should conclude *too good a peace*, and gain *too much credit* with his king and country, used your utmost endeavours to make him for ever forfeit the esteem and approbation of both. I have often earnestly wished that your whole behaviour in this important affair might be laid before the public. The most humane and candid person would then confess, that there was sufficient reason for that torrent of popular odium which overwhelmed you with confusion.

"After you had thus been hunted out of office by the public cry, what vows and protestations did you make that you would never again interfere in public business: but these declarations were scarce made before they were broken; you could not keep from meddling, and yet you durst not ACT OUT. All your emissaries were set to work to obstruct the administration of those very gentlemen you yourself had so lately recommended. Every engine and every art was made use of to poison the minds of the people against their measures; but here your lordship's character and their merits were to appear in opposite scales; and it needs not any pen to tell which would preponderate."

A.D. 1765. Ireland. This application he prepared to follow up by a personal visit to the Irish capital ; but had scarcely reached Conway, on the 14th of November, ere a messenger arrived from the provost, apprising him that the University had elected the Duke of Bedford for their Chancellor. Of the entire transaction the latter was wholly ignorant till informed of the event by Mr. Rigby. Occurring at a time when he was known to enjoy no court favour for the interest of the college, it was highly gratifying to him, as a mark to the whole world of the estimation in which his services were held in Ireland. “ It is, I believe, since the Revolution,” says Mr. Rigby, with a pardonable exultation, “ I am sure since the accession of the present family, the only instance of a chancellor of that university not of the royal family, which may, perhaps, render it the more acceptable at St. James’s, where, if it should make them a little angry, I own I shall be the better pleased.”¹ The duke, after returning his acknowledgments for this distinction, appointed the then primate for his vice-chancellor ; and his own installation was celebrated, with the greatest pomp, on the 9th of September, 1768 ; the music on the occasion being composed by the Earl of Mornington,² father to the present Duke of Wellington.

The Cumberland or Rockingham administration existed for about twelve months, and then fell asunder by its own inefficiency. The change of ministry in 1765, at the particular juncture when it occurred, proved singularly unfortunate : it encouraged the Americans in all their clamours against the stamp act, deepening the incipient discontent that had been infused by artful men into audacious tumults, which were, it is greatly to be feared, considered rather as

¹ Mr. Rigby to the Duke of Bedford ; Conway, Nov. 14, 1765.

² *Gent. Mag.* vol. xxxviii. p. 443. The Ode on the Installation is given in the same volume, p. 535.

weapons to be used against the late administration, than acts of indignity to be resolutely suppressed. And hence the fiscal resolutions which the one session had all but unanimously agreed to, the next, with singular inconsistency, was required to rescind. In the debates which attended this great question, the Duke of Bedford took an able part, supporting naturally the arguments and former policy of Mr. Grenville, and declaring, "that he considered the submission of the Americans as the palladium, which, if suffered to be removed, would put a final period to the British empire in America." To a modification of the duties he would not have been unfavourable; but he regarded a total repeal of them as an act of versatility, fatal to the dignity and jurisdiction of parliament, the evil consequences of which no Declaratory Act could qualify or avert.¹

To the Rockingham administration succeeded that of Mr. Pitt, now created Earl of Chatham; who feeling sensibly the loss of his late popularity and the estrangement of Lord Temple, found it necessary to strengthen its efficiency, and for this purpose applied to the Duke of Bedford. The earl's leading point in this appears to have been to detach the duke from Mr. Grenville; and his overtures took various shapes, at intervals between June and November, 1766. In order to secure his countenance and interest, Lord Chatham complimented him by declaring now in favour of those measures which the duke had pointedly advocated, and which he had declared he would certainly continue to support, whether his friends were in, or whether they were out of office.² But

¹ Minutes of his speech; Bedford Papers.

² Dropping all notice of American measures, Lord Chatham declared his policy should be: "1, To keep the peace inviolate, and to have a watchful eye over the princes of the continent, to see that they did the same; 2, To have no connexions with the continent, nor enter into any subsidiary treaty with

A.D. 1767. beyond the desire of seeing his friends in great employments, the duke had now no personal ambition to gratify; having privately declared, that from the ill usage which he had received both from the king and the public, he could no more himself take any employment. And the proposals of the minister being too confined, in respect to the number of those friends who had been dismissed with the duke, and being himself checked by Lord Bute from fulfilling those which he had actually made in favour of Lord Gower and Lord Weymouth, which were not objected to, the conferences were precipitately abandoned, and a different arrangement concluded, in which Lord Bute saw two of his former adherents satisfactorily comprised.¹

In March 1767, the duke received a most severe shock in the accident that happened to his admirable son, whose passion for hunting had continued to increase. On the 9th of that month, the Marquess of Tavistock had a fall from his horse, by which his skull was fractured. Professional aid was immediately sent for; a difficult operation was successfully performed; his senses returned to him; and though his danger was still considered great, yet, after the first four days, considerable hopes were entertained of his recovery.² But the gleam, unhappily, was of short duration; and on the 23d of the same month, a life of very extraordinary promise was prematurely closed: it was closed, “but not until such honour, generosity, and every amiable virtue, had shone through the veil of natural modesty, that no young

any of the powers there; 3, To observe such a strict and rigid economy as even the most frugal minister must approve of.” These were his words. The duke pleasantly reminded him that these had always been *his own* measures; that the minister had come into his policy, not he into the minister’s.

¹ Lord Le Despencer and Mr. Jenkinson; the former his chancellor of the exchequer, the latter his private secretary.

² Hume’s Private Correspondence, pp. 238, 240.

man of quality since the Earl of Ossory, son of the Duke of A.D. 1767. Ormond, had inspired fonder hopes, attracted higher esteem, or died so universally lamented.”¹

The full extent of this terrible accident was considerably kept from Lady Tavistock, till further concealment was impossible. Throughout the anguish that followed this sudden wrench from happiness the most unclouded, she was sustained by Nature, as though in pity for the posthumous infant to which she gave birth on the 20th of August; when, wearied with *her* task, she gave the effort over to keen sensibility and inconsolable sorrow. A deep decline succeeded, under which the sufferer lingered for one mournful year; when, as the last resource of hope, a voyage to Lisbon was agreed to, in which she was to be attended by her sister Caroline, and Lord Albemarle her brother. Whilst preparations were making for this object, an affecting incident occurred. At a consultation of the faculty, held at Bedford House in August, one of the physicians, whilst he felt her pulse, requested her to open her hand. Her reluctance induced him to use a degree of gentle violence, when he perceived that she had closed it to conceal a miniature of her late husband. “Ah, madam,” he exclaimed, “all our prescriptions must be useless whilst you so fatally cherish the wasting sorrow that destroys you!” “I have kept it,” she replied, “either in my bosom or my hand, ever since my dear lord’s death; and thus I must indeed continue to retain it, until I drop off after him into the welcome grave.” The physician sighed as he resigned her hand—the frigate (commanded by her brother Captain Keppel) departed to its destined climate—and early in October, Lord Albemarle wrote to Mr. Rigby, “poor Elizabeth died the 2d of this month.”

¹ Lord Orford’s Catalogue of Portraits at Woburn Abbey.

A.D. 1767. The Duke of Bedford received with equal keenness the tidings of the fearful event. The letters of his children evince that he was one of the fondest fathers; and nobody believed, when it happened, that he would survive his loss:¹ but he had great fortitude and firmness; and “it was very happy for him,” writes Mr. Hume to the Comtesse de Boufflers,² “that at the time of poor Tavistock’s death there were public transactions of moment before parliament, in which his friends urged him to take part. The natural fervour of his character insensibly engaged him in the scene. He was diverted from his own melancholy reflections, and business thus proved to him the best consolation. He has not, however, recovered thoroughly that terrible shock; and the duchess, to whom the world did not ascribe so great a degree of sensibility, is still more inconsolable.”³

To the parliamentary business here referred to, succeeded an active series of negotiations, the cabinet being in a state of great disunion, and bending before the weight of a very powerful opposition. The Chancellor Northington’s ill state of health inducing him to resign, he advised the king to send for the Duke of Bedford, Lord Temple, and Mr. Grenville. Lord Chatham, when written to by the king upon this subject, declined interfering; yet proposals appear to have been made to the first,⁴ but failed, from his refusal separately to

¹ Hume’s *Private Correspondence*, p. 237. ² *Ib.* p. 244, June 19.

³ On the 23d of Dec. 1768, he writes to the same lady, p. 264: “The Bedford family seem now to be comforted entirely, from the shock they received on poor Lord Tavistock’s death. Some even reproached the duke with being too easily comforted; but it proceeded from the ardency of his temper, which always takes itself to the present object without reserve.”

⁴ “The first person to whom he addresses himself,” says Mr. Hume, “is the Duke of Bedford, whose consideration is very great, on account of his quality, and riches, and friends—and above all, his personal character.”—*Private Correspondence*, p. 244.

entertain them; and as a total change in the cabinet was A.D. 1767. now generally anticipated by the opposition, if they could remain united, a coalition was set on foot by the Duke of Newcastle between the Bedford and Rockingham parties, in order to prevent the success of any separate overtures, if they should chance to be repeated. The Duke of Bedford was favourable to the project, as “a means of rescuing the country out of the hands of Lord Bute; of restoring strength and energy to the government, upon a footing free from favouritism, and the guidance of a minister not in a responsible employment, and of rooting out that maxim of favourites—‘*divide et impera*,’ which enabled them almost annually to change administrations, for the purpose of retaining their unconstitutional power.”¹ Accordingly, when the Duke of Grafton required the Marquess of Rockingham to specify the plan on which he and his friends would propose to come into the ministry, the whole succeeding correspondence was communicated to the several leaders of opposition, amongst whom the strictest concert and union at first prevailed. Lord Rockingham was recommended to require that a comprehensive basis should be assented to, the present ministry be considered at an end, and that he should receive his orders directly from the king.² Various attempts were made to elude these requisitions, and it seemed “that the court, though reduced to the last extremity of distress, could never grow sincere.”³ At length the marquess was informed that the king would see him, when he had prepared his plan of comprehension, “being willing to entertain such an one as should exclude no denomination of men who were attached

¹ Duke of Bedford to Lord Rockingham, July 16, 1767.

² Bedford Papers: Letters to and from Lord Rockingham.

³ Lord Temple to Mr. Rigby; Stowe, July 17, 1767.

A.D. 1767. to his person and government.”¹ Accordingly, on the evening of July 20th, a meeting took place at Newcastle House, composed of various great persons of the four parties. But it was easier to agree upon general principles than on a distribution of the offices of state. Lord Rockingham, after much animated discussion, was willing to satisfy Mr. Grenville, by stipulating that the dependence and obedience of the colonies should be *supported* and *established*; but he insisted that Mr. Conway should be secretary of state and director of the House of Commons,—a point to which the Duke of Bedford could not assent, though perfectly satisfied to see Lord Rockingham at the head of the treasury, with his friend Mr. Dowdeswell chancellor of the exchequer. As neither nobleman felt justified in receding from his opinion, in a point of so much consequence, the conferences came to an end, after a second unsuccessful meeting. In a letter of the 23d, to Mr. Rigby, we find Lord Albemarle lamenting that he was not in London at this period; for although he did not expect immediate success from the negotiation into which all at Woburn had so heartily entered, on the great principle of removing an irresponsible agent from the throne, he did not expect to hear of a total separation of those parties, the union of which must, sooner or later, have obtained the wished-for end.

The result, therefore, was, that the ministry retained their situations. On the death of Charles Townshend, in September, the chancellorship of the exchequer was offered to Lord North, but was refused by him at this time, on the ground (which he freely stated in the closet) of his inability to cope with Mr. Grenville on the subject of finance.² Lord Mansfield was in consequence deputed to see the Duke of Bedford, and for this

¹ Duke of Grafton to the Marquess of Rockingham; July 17, 1767.

² Mr. Rigby to the Duke of Bedford; September 12, 1767.

purpose went to Woburn Abbey the latter end of the same A.D. 1768. month ; but although the coalition meeting had separated, with the explicit understanding that nothing which had passed should be considered binding upon either party, he returned without accomplishing the object of his mission.

The Duke of Bedford's political correspondence now suffered a great check by his decay of eyesight, which threatened an utter extinction of that faculty, until the operation of couching, performed by Baron Wensler, afforded him considerable relief. A desire, however, to know Mr. Grenville's sentiments on the prospects and the state of parties, led to some farther intercourse between them in November; when we find that gentleman admitting, that though a system might be agreed on for destroying the existing government, the difficulties of constructing another in its room were nearly insuperable, amidst the general listlessness and supineness that affected all degrees of men. Until parliament should open, he could suggest no particular plan to act upon; and the nature of his answer to some inquiries as to his intended course of action at the approaching general election, even indicated some coolness, arising, it may naturally be conjectured, from Lord Temple's influence over him. When next, towards the close of December, overtures were made to the Bedford party, the duke left his friends free to accept them, in consequence of which Earl Gower was made president of the council;¹ Lord Weymouth, one of the secretaries of state;² Lord Sandwich, joint postmaster-general;³ and Mr. Rigby vice-treasurer of Ireland,⁴ which he exchanged in June for the paymastership of the forces. It is to this detachment from the Grenville, or rather the Temple party, that the Duke of Bedford was indebted for the furious in-

¹ Dec. 23, 1767.² ³ Jan. 20, 1768.⁴ Jan. 6.

A.D. 1768. vective which Junius has stamped upon his pages, and to which posterity might perhaps have allowed the merit of a caricature, if the stormy or malignant passion which obviously swayed the pencil had not distorted the whole figure beyond all chance of recognition.

In the midst of the agitation arising from the general election in March, Mr. Wilkes returned from his exile, to add new strength to the tempest. Lord Temple was early disposed to avow himself his champion and patron. He said publicly that he loved faction, and had a great deal of spare money;¹ and he held meetings at his house, whence many of those civic patriots drew their inspiration, who afterwards, when the frenzy for Wilkes was at the highest, distinguished themselves in what may not unsuitably be called the Saturnalia of freedom. Mr. Grenville, justly alarmed at his brother's conversation, sent Mr. Whately, his secretary, and Lord Suffolk to him: they attacked him at the opera, and got him to say that he would do nothing at present, but would make no promise for the future.² It was not long before he entered into all the mazes of city politics, and gambolled in the mischief which he so studiously sought. The fever for "Wilkes and Liberty," which seized on and possessed the city for so long a period, needs no illustration here. The impolitic measures of the court deepened the contagion. The master-agitators of those distempered times were strenuous propagandists: they sought to inoculate other cities and counties with the same disease of enthusiasm, and "let slip their dogs of war" on all who manifested any favour to the existing ministry. In this more personal system of political warfare, the Duke of Bedford was not likely to be overlooked, having contributed so much to its consolidation. After

^{1 2} Miss Wrottesley to the Duke of Bedford.

a successful attempt by the civic patriots, in July 1769, to stir A.D. 1769.
up insult and outrage against him, during a journey which he made to Exeter to receive the freedom of that city, in which he was furiously assailed by a misguided rabble, and narrowly escaped with his life,—a more elaborate plan was laid to overpower the influence of his party in the town of Bedford, which was prosecuted with inconceivable vehemence and industry. Some of the most active “supporters of the bill of rights” in London, gained over to their views the mayor of Bedford, at the close of his year of office, and prevailed on him to create one hundred, some accounts say three hundred, of their party in the city honorary freemen, who, headed by Sheriff Sawbridge, Mr. Horne,¹ and Sir Robert Barnard, entered Bedford in the dusk of the evening preceding the election of new officers; and on the day of meeting, which the duke attended as recorder, after carrying a resolution that the new freemen should be admitted, and that those who were in opposition to the duke should poll first, succeeded by a large majority in electing their own candidate, though not without a strong protest from three hundred of the resident burgesses and freemen, against an “act which violently wrested from themselves, and transferred into the hands of strangers, their ancient and undoubted right of choosing the corporation officers, by such an arbitrary exertion of power as was without precedent or example.”² The election past, the winning party celebrated the triumph of their “virtue and patriotism” over what they were pleased to term an odious and insufferable tyranny.

It was in the same year that Dr. Musgrave came forward with those rash and unsupported accusations to which allusion has been already made. When the cry of faction was loudest in 1763, the private letters of the Duke of Bedford shew how

¹ The celebrated Horne Tooke.

² Bedford Papers.

A.D. 1769. infinitely he despised its clamour; and it was, therefore, not in the nature of charges so ridiculous, notwithstanding the boundless credulity which numbers manifested, to disturb the serenity and firmness of his temper with any other feeling than amusement or contempt. In the midst of the rancorous attacks that were at the same time directed against both his political and private character, he manifested the same innate cheerfulness and dignity. Once only did he allow a feeling of impatience at this treatment to escape him, whilst making, under Lord North's administration, a seventh application to Lord Barrington for a company in favour of a deserving officer who had served with reputation the whole of the last war, and in whose success one of his most estimable friends had warmly interested herself. "If to refuse my application," said he, "should be your decision, I would know it explicitly of your lordship,¹ that I may inform the lady that I have entirely lost all credit at my own court, and that the king's ministers pay no regard to my solicitations, though ever so just and reasonable, notwithstanding the services I may venture to assert I did my country in negotiating and

¹ As the duke had repeatedly offered to make good the loss which any military man might sustain by the grant of his request, and had formerly conferred obligations on Lord Barrington, much against his better judgment, the evasive and ungenerous replies which the latter returned to these applications, give us a very unfavourable opinion of his disposition. "I have the honour," wrote Mr. Legge to the Duke of Bedford, Oct. 25, 1746, "to agree entirely with your grace as to the merits of Lord Barrington's pretensions, and yet I cannot help being glad you have consented, as I think it will contribute to your own ease and satisfaction; for I plainly saw he was fortified with all the precedents that have ever happened of the like partiality, so that you would not have been able to have held out above five or six months against the repeated schemes, pleas, and solicitations of himself and friends; and I think that difference, as it would by no means have been sufficient to sanctify the deed at last, and would in the meanwhile have created much trouble to you, was hardly worth considering. On the contrary, if he forgets the obliging manner in which you have done this favour for him, he must be all, and more, and worse than has ever been suspected of him."

signing the last peace, though, unfortunately and unjustly, A.D. 1770. I have incurred an odium by it which I shall never shake off, and for which I shall be persecuted by mine enemies to my latest day."

That day was rapidly approaching. Throughout the whole of 1770 we find repeated indications of his increasing debility. He was seriously indisposed during the spring; in May he had so far recovered as to use as much exercise as ever; in July he was compelled by fresh attacks to discontinue it, and resolved to try the Tunbridge waters; in October he was at Bath; in November he interested himself with his usual ardour in his friend Mr. Brand's success, who stood a formidable contest in Cambridgeshire against four competitors; and with great munificence concerted means for the support of the distressed sufferers at Thorney, who were in danger of perishing by a famine arising from floods that had swept away the Fen embankments so suddenly, that the poor people with their children were obliged to escape out of their cottages, almost naked, during that cold and dreary season. But, in December he acknowledges to Lord North, that he was unable to write a letter of any length himself, and fears the decrepit state of his health would not permit him to hope for any sudden amendment. It was then his intention to try the baths of Aix in the ensuing summer; but the messenger of death was already on the wing. He retained to the last his liveliness, equanimity, and active mental habits. His touching appeal to Lord Barrington was written on the 4th of December; up to the 4th of January, with that love of order which in a remarkable degree characterised him throughout life, he made his usual diurnal entries of agricultural and other business done or to be done: but nature was fast sinking under the inroads she sustained; and on the

A.D. 1771. evening of the 15th of that month, the frank, the generous, the impetuous, the long powerful, the much calumniated John, Duke of Bedford, had ceased to breathe, — leaving the memory of his services and virtues for his posterity to cherish ; and the vestiges of his errors, if other than involuntary errors, in his honesty of purpose, he can be found to have committed, for his opponents and his country to forgive.

His remains, after lying in state until the 21st, were deposited with those of his ancestors, in the family vault at Chenies. Having been an elder brother of the Trinity House, the guns on the river at Deptford were fired during the whole of the morning of their removal. His relict survived until the 1st of July 1794, and then expired at the advanced age of seventy-nine.

The leading features of the character of John, fourth Duke of Bedford, may, perhaps, be gathered from the previous pages. Few personages, during their lives, were subjected to more indiscriminate abuse from the organs of those parties who were at variance with him than he ; and it requires an intimate knowledge of the private aims and position of the leading spirits of the times, at the particular periods when those attacks were levelled at him, to appreciate them at their right value. Lord Chesterfield, who never forgave him for his success in preventing his friend Dayrolles from conducting that negotiation to which Lord Sandwich was appointed, in a contemptuous portraiture which he has left of him, has depreciated every endowment and magnified every failing which he had, allowing him “ no amiable qualities,” and but “ rather more than a common share of common-sense.” Horace Walpole, eagerly opposed to him as he was in politics, the whole of the time he filled any important station in the government, was a much more generous

enemy; yet, from that spirit of faction which he frankly A.D. 1771. confesses that he loved, and the untiring hostility with which he pursued all who were instrumental in the downfall of his father, his representations of their conduct are always to be received *cum grano salis*, and with much caution. But of all who sought to undervalue his great qualities, “the brilliant calumniator,” says Mr. Lodge, “whose name is hidden under the appellation of Junius, was the foremost. The temper of the duke was so much above disguise, that it easily afforded an opportunity to so dexterous a partisan as Junius, of magnifying small faults into enormous atrocities. The charges were not believed even in the intoxication that accompanied the excitement during which they were at first preferred; and it would be idle now to attempt to rescue the name of the Duke of Bedford from imputations wholly without foundation or proof.” If the limits of the present work allowed, it would not be difficult to follow out the exposition of that writer’s gross misrepresentations in other instances than those in which it has been here effected; but these may safely be left, until the lifting up of the covering from the face of this “Veiled Prophet” shall disclose the precise worth of the oracle, and the extent to which, in the wild inconsistency of poor human nature, the apparently noblest aims and desires for the public good may be combined with the bitterest exercise of party feeling, and the meanest gratification of personal revenge.

To say that as an active political leader the Duke of Bedford never betrayed too great an eagerness for power, that in pursuit of this object his measures never bordered upon faction, or that he did not at some periods too actively concern himself in an unconstitutional interference with the independence of the other house of parliament, would be

A.D. 1771. unjustly to exalt him above every other political chieftain of the versatile and stormy party times in which he lived. Two great errors he committed, in the estimation of the advocates of popular rights,—his joining the Pelham administration without stipulations, and the abandonment of the Grenville party to support that of the Duke of Grafton ; but though he might shew too great a facility in both these instances, he was guilty of no such dereliction of principle as to deserve the charge of apostacy, with which Glover sought to brand him : from the latter, indeed, he derived no personal advantage beyond the natural pleasure of seeing the friends in whom he was interested, and in whose views and motives he had entire confidence, in employments suited to their wishes and ambition. For the rest, the failings glanced at were shared by too many of the great men of his day to render them characteristics at all peculiar to him, however justly they may deserve reprobation.

The main incidents of his public life, and the tenour of his voluminous private correspondence, exhibit him as a statesman anxious for the best interests and prosperity of his country, firmly and closely adhering to what in his conscience he considered right ; of unblemished honour ; and a faithful and unflattering adviser of his sovereign. Possessing rather a strong and solid judgment than a fine imagination, his talents in debate, though not matured by cultivation into first-rate excellence, were always far removed from mediocrity, and sometimes, when under the electric influence of scorn or indignation, kindled up into a flame of fervid and impressive eloquence. His talents as a negotiator were too timidly and industriously restricted in their play by others to accomplish all the distinction which they were fitted to acquire him ; and he, perhaps, wanted much of that *finesse*

on which diplomatists generally pride themselves ; but, notwithstanding every disadvantage, he, by his truly British spirit, bore away, in this character, from the courts both of Madrid and Fontainebleau, some solid trophies of industry and skill, alike creditable to himself and permanently beneficial to his country. In temper he was warm, impressible, undaunted ; in domestic life as tenderly beloved as he was devotedly affectionate ; in his friendships frank and zealous ; in his enmities equally open and decisive, but by no means implacable. Mr. Fox, who knew him well, once said, “ that he was the most ungovernable governed man in the world ; ” by which he doubtless meant to imply, that he might be easily guided, by the management of those whom he most confided in and loved, but never driven by any, nor led even by them beyond the great landmarks of his own judgment. And the same statesman acknowledges, whilst smarting under the memory of their recent rupture, that he indulged no other opinion of the duke “ than what might be true of the honestest and worthiest man God ever made.” In this sentiment Lord Orford so far concurs as to say that “ he was a man of inflexible honesty and goodwill to his country : his great economy,” he adds, “ was called avarice ; but if it was so, it was blended with more generosity and goodness than that passion will commonly unite with.”¹ Of his secret generosity his private papers disclose several, and some affecting instances, to judge by the depth of the acknowledgments returned. Nor in our attempts to estimate his character aright, must we overlook the terms in which another individual characterised him when the grave had closed upon his earthly merits or frailties, and when the incense of flattery could be of no possible avail : “ His name,” says Andrew

¹ *Memoires*, vol. i. p. 162.

A.D. 1771. Stuart, in his 'Letters to Lord Mansfield on the Douglas cause,' "must ever be held in high veneration, whilst there remains in this country any attachment to real goodness, and to an honourable, manly, generous, and exalted character. No man held in greater detestation than he did, every thing unfair; there was no disguise nor deceit in his character. You must likewise have observed, that though distinguished by his abilities and talents, he possessed the firmness and integrity of his mind untainted by that duplicity and timidity which so often attend and degrade eminent abilities; pursuing candidly and ardently what appeared to him right and honourable, he was equally careless of vain applause, and of unjust or factious clamour. I must be excused for indulging my admiration of a character so seldom to be met with; and for paying this just tribute to the ashes of one whose death I shall ever sincerely lament as a national loss, as well as a real misfortune to all who had the honour and happiness of his particular acquaintance."

Of John, fourth duke of Bedford, three portraits exist at Woburn Abbey, one by Jervis, on his coming to the dukedom; a second by Gainsborough, painted in 1764, which Sir Joshua Reynolds paid the artist the compliment of copying for the late Earl of Upper Ossory; and a third by Sir Joshua himself, in his ducal robes, which has been engraved for the splendid work of Mr. Lodge. Of Diana, his first wife, there is also an interesting half-length, by Whood. Of Gertrude, his second duchess, four;—one by Hudson, holding a mask; a second by Gavin Hamilton, introducing her daughter to Minerva; a third in her coronation robes, as a companion to her husband, by Sir Joshua; and a fourth by the same pencil, in her later years.

Of Francis, marquess of Tavistock, there are also three

portraits;—the first painted at Rome in 1762, by Pompeo A.D. 1771.
Batoni; the others by Sir Joshua, who has devoted equal care on several portraits of the marchioness. Of these, two in undress bespeak the sweetness of her disposition, by “the mind, the music breathing from her face;” and a third, in profile, is painted as a companion to her husband. But it is upon the fourth, a magnificent whole-length figure of her as one of the four virgin bridemaids to the queen, attended by a black domestic, that he has expended all the enchantments of his pencil. The late Sir Thomas Lawrence has been known to have contemplated it with unmixed delight, and to have pronounced it the *chef d'œuvre* of his talent, or equalled only, in his estimation, by the celebrated picture of Mrs. Siddons. Breathing the most exquisite sentiment, it is as though the artist had foreseen the brief happiness that was to be the doom of his amiable friend, and had taxed all the treasures of his fancy to perpetuate the charm, in the spirit of that touching tribute of the Roman poet:—

“ Heu pietas, heu prisca fides!—

Manibus date lilia plenis:

Purpureos spargam flores, animamque nepotis

His saltem adcumulem donis, et fungar inani

Munere!”

Virg. Æn. vi. 879.

Cut off by her pining grief in the bloom of youth and beauty, she left three orphans to the guardianship of the Duke of Bedford—Francis, John, and William.



FRANCIS, FIFTH DUKE.

A.D. 1786.

At the age of six years, Francis, the eldest, succeeded to the dukedom. Born on the 23d of July, 1765, his minority terminated in 1786, when he took his seat in parliament as a peer of the realm; and by the tenour of his public conduct, and the purest devotion to his country's interests, rivetted upon himself its liveliest regards. But his loss is too recent, and the transactions in which he took a part are too intimately connected with our own days, to find a proper commemoration in the present pages. A sudden and melancholy illness terminated his career on the 2d of March, 1802, unmarried, at the age of 36.



JOHN, SIXTH DUKE.

BYNG.



GORDON.



By his lamented death, his next brother, Lord John, became sixth Duke of Bedford. He was born July 6, 1766; and on the 21st of March, 1786, married Georgiana-Elizabeth Byng,¹ the second daughter of George, fourth Viscount Tor-

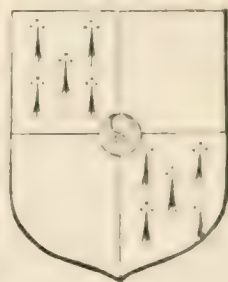
¹ Arms; quarterly, *sable* and *argent*; in the first a lion rampant of the *second*.

rington, minister plenipotentiary to the court of Brussels. On A.D. 1817. the death of Mr. Rigby, in 1788, he was elected member of parliament for the borough of Tavistock. In 1790 he was again elected for the same borough; and at the dissolution in 1796 he was re-elected, and continued to sit for Tavistock till the decease of the late duke. In 1802 he took his seat in the House of Lords; and in March, 1806, was sworn at Dublin Castle lord lieutenant-general, and general governor of Ireland. In the following year, on the breaking up of Lord Grenville's administration, he was recalled from that station by the succeeding government. By the above lady, who deceased October 11, 1801, he has three sons—1, Francis; 2, George-William; and 3, John.

1. Francis, marquess of Tavistock, was born May 13, 1788. In 1812 he was chosen a knight of the shire for the county of Bedford, which he represented also in the four succeeding parliaments. On the 11th of December, 1832, he was called to the House of Peers, by the title of Baron Howland, of Streatham. He married, August 8, 1808, Lady Anna-Maria Stanhope,¹ eldest daughter of Charles, third earl of Harrington. He has one son, William, Lord Russell, born June 30, 1809, now member for the borough of Tavistock.

2. Lord George-William, born May 8, 1790, a colonel in the army and aide-de-camp to the king. He began his military career at the siege of Copenhagen in 1807, as aide-de-camp to Earl Ludlow, and served during nearly the whole of the Peninsular war, on the staffs of Field-marshal the Duke of Wellington and General Lord Lynedoch. He sat from 1812 to 1830, in four successive parliaments, for the town and borough of Bedford. Marrying on the 21st of June, 1817, Elizabeth-Anne, only child of the late Hon.

STANHOPE.



¹ Arms; quarterly, *ermine* and *gules*, a crescent for difference.

A.D. 1832. John-Theophilus Rawdon,¹ his offspring are Blanche, born April 9, died June 26, 1818 ; Francis-Charles-Hastings, born Oct. 16, 1819 ; Arthur-John-Edward, born June 13, 1825 ; and Odo-Leopold-William, born Feb. 20, 1829.

RAWDON.



3. Lord John Russell was born on the 19th of August, 1792. In 1813 he was elected member of parliament for the borough of Tavistock ; and in 1819 for the county of Hunts, which he continued to represent until 1826. In the following parliament he sat for Bandon-bridge, in the county of Cork. In 1831 he was elected knight of the shire for the county of Devon ; and in 1832 for the southern division of the same county, under the provisions of the Reform act. On the 14th of December, 1830, he was appointed paymaster of the forces.

On the 23d of June, 1803, the Duke of Bedford married for his second wife, the Lady Georgiana Gordon,² fifth daughter of Alexander, fourth Duke of Gordon. Nine sons and three daughters have been the result of this marriage.

1. Wriothesley, M.A., born May 11, 1804 ; married, June 23, 1829, his cousin, Eliza-Laura-Henrietta, second daughter of Lord William Russell.³

RUSSELL.



2. Edward, born April 24, 1805, entered the royal navy January 13th, 1819.

3. Charles-James-Fox, born Feb. 10, 1807, elected knight of the shire for the county of Bedford, December 24th, 1832.

4. Francis-John, born Oct. 23, 1808, entered the royal navy February 7th, 1822.

5. Georgiana-Elizabeth, born June 23, 1810.

¹ Arms ; *argent*, a fesse between three pheons *sable*.

² Arms ; quarterly ; 1st *azure*, 3 boars' heads couped *or*, for GORDON ; 2d, *or*, 3 lions' heads erased *gules*, langued *azure*, as LORD OF BADENOCH ; 3d, *or*, 3 crescents within a tressure flory counter-flory *gules*, for SETON ; 4th, *azure*, 3 cinquefoils *argent*, for FRASER.

³ Arms ; the same as those described for Russell, with a mullet for difference.

6. Louisa-Jane, born July 8, 1812; married, Oct. 1832, A.D. 1832. James, second marquess of Abercorn.¹

7. A son, born and died Oct. 5, 1813.

8. Henry, born Feb. 17, 1816; entered the royal navy June 25th, 1829.

9. Cosmo-George, born July 2, 1817. 10. Alfred, born Feb. 20, died March 10, 1819. 11. Alexander-George, born Dec. 16, 1821; and 12, Rachel-Evelyn, born June 19, 1826.

HAMILTON.



COLLATERAL BRANCHES.

III. Lord William, the third and posthumous son of the late Marquess of Tavistock, was born on the 20th of August, 1767. In 1788 he was elected member of parliament for Surrey, and continued to represent that county till 1807, when, on the dissolution of parliament, he lost his election. He subsequently represented the borough of Tavistock, till ill health obliged him to retire from parliament. On the 11th of July, 1789, he married Lady Charlotte-Anne Villiers,² eldest daughter of George Bussey, fourth Earl of Jersey: she died August 31, 1808, leaving issue four sons and three daughters.

VILLIERS.



1. Gertrude-Frances, born November 24, 1791; married, May 15, 1816, the Hon. Henry Grey Bennet,³ brother to the present Earl of Tankerville. Her progeny are: 1. Charlotte-Emma-Georgiana, born Jan. 24, 1818. 2. Henry-Charles, died June 10, 1824. 3. Caroline, died December 31, 1823. 4. Gertrude-Frances, born June 8, 1822.

BENNET.



¹ Arms; quarterly, 1st and 4th *gules*, 3 cinquefoils, pierced, *ermine*, for HAMILTON; 2d and 3d *argent*, a ship with her sails furled up, *sable*, for ARRAN.

² Arms; *argent*, on a cross *gules*, 5 escallop shells *or*, a mullet for difference.

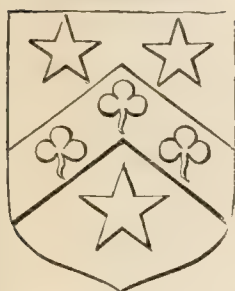
³ Arms; *gules*, a bezant between 3 demi-lions rampant, *argent*.

A.D. 1833. 2. Francis, lieutenant-colonel of the Coldstream Guards, M.P. for Tavistock, born March 7, 1793, died November 24th, 1832; interred in St. George's chapel, Hanover Square.

3. George, born April 7, 1795, died September 15, 1825.

4. John, born July 10, 1796; married, on the 21st of August, 1822, Sophia, daughter of the late Colonel George-Kein-Hayward Coussmaker,¹ by the Hon. Catharine Southwell, daughter of Lord De Clifford: and the barony of De Clifford falling into abeyance by the death of Edward, twenty-first and last baron of that ancient title, on the 30th of September, 1832—it was determined in favour of her, the above Sophia, as the only surviving issue of his eldest sister. Her children are: 1. Edward-Southwell, born April 30, 1824. 2. John, born July 30, 1825. 3. Katharine-Sarah-Georgiana, born Dec. 19, 1826. 4. Mary, born May 3, 1830, and 5. Caroline, born July 15, 1831.

COUSSMAKER.



5. Charlotte-Frances, born 1798; died Feb. 19, 1799.

CAMPBELL.



6. William, born July 15, 1800, barrister-at-law; married, May 17, 1828, Emma, daughter of the late Colonel John Campbell,² by Lady Charlotte Campbell, daughter of the Duke of Argyll. Their offspring are, Emmeline, born May 6, 1829, and George, born September 21, 1830. A third infant, named William-Charles-Ormelie, was also born to them, October 8, 1832, but died on the 2d of April, 1833.

7. Eliza-Laura-Henrietta, born Jan. 22, 1803; married, June 23, 1829, her cousin, Wriothsley Russell, rector of Chenies, Bucks, and of Streatham, Surrey.

¹ Arms; *azure*, on a chevron between three mullets *or*, three trefoils slipt *vert*.

² Arms; girony of eight, *or* and *sable*, within a bordure of the *first*, charged with eight crescents of the *second*.

ADDENDA.

VOL. I.

Page 9.—The *ancient* arms of NORMANDY were, *Gules*, a bend compony counter-compony, *argent* and *azure*.

Page 10.—Those of TURSTAIN, a bend compony counter-compony, *or* and *azure* : BLOIS AND CHARTRES, *Azure*, a bend *argent* coticed potencé contre-potencé, *or* : HUGH LUPUS, *Azure*, a wolf's head erased, *proper*.

Page 12.—The arms of BARBE DE MONTFORT were, *Gules*, a saltire *or*.

Page 14.—The later arms of Normandy, *Gules*, two leopard's or lion's heads passant gardant *or*.

Page 96.—Arms of POMEROY, *Or*, a lion rampant *gules*, within a bordure engrailed *sable*.

Page 368.—The name of the dauntless mayor who defended Exeter in this servile siege, was John Tuckfield.

VOL. II.

Page 120.—Since this part of the work was printed, the Rev. Leland Noel has done me the favour to examine the parish register of Exton in Rutland, and has found an entry indicating the interment there of Lucy, Countess of Bedford, in the year 1627 ; but the date of the month was illegible.

CORRIGENDA.

VOLUME I.

Pages 27 and 34, for “scarcely ... than,” &c. *read*, “scarcely ... ere.”

Page 32, for “Anslan,” *read*, “Arslan.”

Page 112, for the arms of OGLANDER, *read*, *Azure*, a stork *argent*, between 3 crosslets fitchéé *or*.

Page 120, for the arms of MURDAC, *read*, *Gules*, 3 bendlets *argent*.

Page 151, for the arms of DENNYS, *read*, *Gules*, 3 leopards' heads *or*, jessant fleurs-de-lys *azure* ; over all a bend engrailed of the third.

Page 159, for those of MUSCHAMP, *read*, Barry of 8 *or* and *gules*, a crescent for difference.

Page 390. The engraved portrait of the first Earl of Bedford represents him not at the time of the battle of Pavia, but in 1535. The mistake originated from the Houbraken engraving of it, in the ornaments of which there is a miniature sketch significant of that memorable conflict.

VOLUME II.

Page 93. The portrait of Elizabeth, baroness Thornhaugh, is not a whole length, but a half-length picture.

Page 171. The “Memoirs of a Cavalier” are not, as they profess to be, the authentic memoirs of Sir Andrew Newport ; they were written by Defoe : the account, however, which that work contains, of the undisciplined state, &c. of Charles's forces on this expedition, is in perfect keeping with the point of fact.

Page 222, for the arms of Williams, *read*, *Gules*, a chevron *argent* between 3 Saxons' heads *proper*.

Page 223, for the arms of WRIGHT, *read*, “three bull's heads *argent*, attired *or*.”

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